

# ARMY REORGANIZATION

DESIRABILITY OF INCORPORATING ONE OR MORE INDIAN  
DIVISIONS IN THE NEW UNITED STATES ARMY

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HEARINGS

*on Indian  
Affairs*

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1920

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STATEMENT OF

DR. JOSEPH KOSSUTH DIXON

Leader of the Rodman Wanamaker Historical Expeditions to the  
North American Indian. Author of "The Vanishing Race."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

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PART 43

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

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## ARMY REORGANIZATION.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Washington, D. C., Wednesday, January 28, 1920.*

The committee met at 2.30 o'clock p. m., Hon. Julius Kahn (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, this meeting was called this afternoon for the purpose of hearing Dr. Dixon and others on the subject of incorporating one or more Indian divisions in the reorganization of the new United States Army. Dr. Dixon, the committee will be pleased to hear what you have to say.

**STATEMENT OF DR. JOSEPH KOSSUTH DIXON, LEADER OF  
THE RODMAN WANAMAKER HISTORICAL EXPEDITIONS  
TO THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN, AUTHOR OF THE  
VANISHING RACE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.**

Dr. DIXON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, when I came in an official of the committee paid me a compliment. He said "Are you a Congressman?" I answered "No, sir; I have not that honor," "Well, you look like one." (Laughter.)

I want to say this, Mr. Chairman: I am under indictment to-day to a great conviction. I am a prisoner at the bar, and I know that this honorable body of men will not send me to jail without allowing me the opportunity to give my testimony.

I will forge ahead as rapidly as possible, because I know that you are busy men and that you have great business at stake.

There were 17,000 Indians who went across the seas, and thousands of them to-day are sleeping under the crosses at Soissons, at Chateau Thierry, St. Mihiel, the Argonne Forest, and Sedan; and those men have bought my time this afternoon.

It was my good pleasure on the 25th of July, 1917, to bring before this committee an argument for the creation of 10 or more regiments of Indian cavalry, on the ground of giving them citizenship; and at that time I spoke about the flag being in peril—endangered liberty—our responsibility in this tragic hour; the early history of the Indian on this continent—the character of the Indian—among the highest types of native men—the treatment of the Indian accorded by civilization—the present-day status of the Indian, anomalous in the history of civilization—the irreconcilable conflict for democracy that was then on and that is still on; the availability and adaptability of the Indian as a soldier; the success in training segregated Indian troops by Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott; the value of the esprit de corps and unity engendering enthusiasm and daring purpose by organizing purely Indian units—a citation of the vast sums appropriated by the United States Government for the education and training of the Indian as compared with less than a third of that sum appropriated for the training of soldiers at West Point, pro-

viding an unanswerable argument for the employment of the Indian as an unused force;—the country needs the services of the Indian. His traditional history as a fighter,—the capabilities of the Indian to assume the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship;—the alleged citizenship of the Indian an artifice of speech;—citizenship for all but the Indian;—the Indian still loves the flag;—his pledge of allegiance to the United States Government given in that wonderful expedition of citizenship that the distinguished citizen of New York, Rodman Wanamaker, Esq., sent out to all of the 189 tribes of Indians in the United States.

This argument I endeavored to amplify most fully, and it was printed in your report. It met with the favor of the Committee on Military Affairs, but did not meet with the favor of the Secretary of War, and it did not meet with the favor of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and thus, was never reported.

The Secretary of War opposed the passage of the bill on the ground that he did not believe in the segregation of troops according to race, although he segregated the Negro. He also designated as a further line of opposition the fact that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs did not believe in Indian regiments. The secret behind this is to be found in the fact that the Indian Commissioner did not believe in Indian citizenship, and therefore he opposed it, and this opposition was born of the fact that standing behind him was an army of men who would be deprived of the opportunity of spoliation of Indian property and Indian rights if the Indian should receive this just boon of citizenship, and thus become self independent and the exploiter of his own resources.

The argument delivered before the Military Committee, together with a letter and a paper called "The patriotic sentiment of the Indian," which they were to sign and return to the writer, was sent to every Indian tribe in the United States. The statement in this communication urged that there was an opportunity just then for every Indian to do more for himself and for his race at that critical hour in the history of our nation by manifesting a spirit of patriotism than had come to him in all his history.

The letter contained the fact that their signatures either by pen or thumb print did not mean that they were drafted or that they were to be enlisted, but simply to find out how they felt about the flag, and whether they were willing to fight for the flag.

(The following is the matter referred to:)

NATIONAL AMERICAN INDIAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION,  
225 Fifth Avenue.

Rodman Wanamaker, founder,  
president.  
Joseph H. Choate, vice president.  
Joseph K. Dixon, secretary.  
J. P. Morgan & Co., treasurer.  
George Frederick Kunz,  
J. Frederic Tams,  
Richard Welling,  
Executive Committee.

NATIONAL AMERICAN INDIAN MEMORIAL.

HARBOR OF NEW YORK.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., October —, 1917.

*To the business council of ——— Tribe.*

MY DEAR FRIENDS: There is opportunity just now for every Indian to do more for himself and for his race, at this critical hour, in the history of our Nation, by manifesting a spirit of patriotism, than has come to him in all his history.

I have called the paper I ask you to sign "The patriotic sentiment of the Indian." Let me tell you people the meaning of "patriotism."

In olden times warriors would go out and fight for their women, their children, their tepees and their horses when attacked by the warriors of other tribes. They also went to fight when their hunting grounds were invaded. The warrior who risked his life in defending the women, the children, the home and common property of the tribe was "patriotic," and the women who urged the warrior on to fight was "patriotic." That is what the word means.

The invasion of this land, whether it be along the Mexican borders, the Canadian borders, the Pacific coast, or the Atlantic coast, would be the same as an invasion of your tribe or your reservation. The people of this country are one, including all who have asked to live here and become one of the people. The land is one and the protecting laws are for all—white people, Indians, and Negroes. Therefore, when the people of this land are attacked it is the duty of every able-bodied man to go and fight, and it is the duty of the woman to urge him on.

I therefore want you to read very carefully the inclosed argument that I delivered before the Military Committee of the Congress advocating organizing regiments of Indian cavalry, on the ground of giving the Indian his rights as a reward. You will see by this argument that I have stated plainly the wrongs that have been forced upon your people, and if this bill can be passed it should open the door for other and larger measures, which will bring comfort, happiness, and prosperity to you and your people. This has been the whole idea of Mr. Rodman Wanamaker since the time that he made up his mind to ask the nation to rear a memorial to the Indian race, emphasized again when he sent out his expedition carrying the flag to all the tribes, and ever since he has been working to bring freedom and prosperity to the Indian. This bill is only another evidence of it.

What I want you to do is to call a council of your leading men, young and old, and read this argument to them; read this letter to them, and then read to them the inclosed paper, which I call "the patriotic sentiment of the Indian." Ask them to consider it carefully, and then ask them to sign it by pen or thumb print, securing as many names as you can; place it in the inclosed envelope, and send it back to me at the earliest possible moment, as the time is short. You can also send me any resolution which your council may wish to state.

Tell all my Indian friends very frankly that the signing of this document does not mean that they are enlisted (many Indians all over the country have enlisted), but that it will be an expression to the country of your feelings and a further pledge of your loyalty to the Government. It does not mean that every man who signs this patriotic sentiment will have to go to war, but it will mean that many of your young men will be willing to go, perhaps to guard the Southern border, and my idea is to recruit regiments of Indian cavalry to guard the line between the United States and Mexico. It will also mean that the country will receive an expression from the Indian himself that will greatly inspire the patriotism of the entire nation, and thus, I say, you can do more now for yourself by carrying out this thought than in any other way that I know of.

You are a great race; you have fought many battles; you are a brave people; you have the material and I am sure you have the wish to help the country in this great struggle at this moment.

Hoping to hear from you at a very early day,

Faithfully, your friend,

JOSEPH K. DIXON.

P. S.—I am sending a copy of this letter and this argument to every tribe of Indians in the United States.

#### THE PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT OF THE INDIAN.

Indians of the ——— Tribe, called in council at ——— Reservation ——— on this ——— day of ———, 1918, recall with deepest interest the opening of the ground for the Indian Memorial in the Harbor of New York, founded by Rodman Wanamaker, when 32 of our chiefs, representing 11 tribes, participated with President Taft and prominent citizens in the ceremonies of that solemn occasion. We recount with patriotic pride the fact that our brothers, on that wonderful day in the history of our people, signed a declaration of allegiance to the United States Government and raised the flag of our country. Every tribe was later able to link itself with this stirring event. Rodman Wanamaker sent an expedition of citizenship to our Indian country. A flagstaff was erected on Indian ground at the home of every tribe, and we signed the

same declaration of loyalty and raised the same flag. It was our joy also to receive from the hands of Rodman Wanamaker an American flag. We accepted this flag with a pledge of loyalty to every color in its folds, and have since cherished this flag as one of our treasured possessions, giving it an honored place on our ceremonial festivals.

We have thought much about the great war. We realize that our country is in peril, and we feel that we must do more for the flag than look at its stars and stripes. We feel that we must defend it. As Indians whose fathers were here before the flag came, we realize that our hope and the happiness of our children all depends upon the preservation of our nation's flag.

We wish, therefore, in council assembled, to publish to the world our renewed fidelity to the flag and express our willingness and desire to fight for it.

Many Indians have already enlisted and to-day are fighting with the Armies of the United States for the liberty of all our people, white, red, and black.

As a tribe, therefore, we wish the world to know that we are a brave, true race of people. We have been trained to fight by instinct and tradition; all Indians have grown up as warriors. We, therefore, prefer to fight as Indian units—as Indians enlisted in a body—that we may preserve and prove our old-time Indian spirit and show to the world that our proud boast as warriors is not in vain. We therefore subscribe our names to a further pledge, a pledge to defend the flag we have accepted.

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More than 40 most wonderful letters were received from various reservations. From far Alaska "The Stars and Stripes Forever" seemed to be the keynote of a great tribe:

Since Uncle Sam has joined the World War the race of the southeastern Alaskans has been trying to do their part. Those that were not able to be armed have bought Liberty bonds, and the younger men were made the home guards, and are glad to do their part in the service for the great country of America. The Stars and Stripes forever, and Uncle Sam for winner.

The tribe of Arapahoes in Oklahoma, wrote:

All of our Indians are patriotic and approve the ideals of our Government.

The Mohawk Indians of the Iroquois Federation, St. Regis, N. Y., wrote:

The best sentiment of the St. Regis Reservation is for the support of our Nation's war aims.

The Red Moon band of Cheyennes of Oklahoma said:

We are all pleased with your proposition. We are for our country. We love our country and will defend it. We are willing to fight where we are put, either on the border or elsewhere.

The Tulalip Indians, from the shores of the Great Puget Sound, wrote us (and one of the best men who ever presided over the Indians, Dr. Buchanan, was there at the time, and has now just gone on, a loss irreparable to the Indians):

During this great crisis which has come into our community and home, we must clasp hands together, stand together, work together, and patiently endure together. We must be patient and loyal and not annoy the Government which is fighting for everything we hold dear. It is our duty to work together, heart and hand, and assist in such manner as to help bring the war to a successful conclusion.

The Colville Agency in Washington wrote us:

I have talked to many of the Indians who live in and near this region. Many of the boys of this reservation have enlisted, and are now serving in the Army and Navy. I am over 50 years of age, but if I am needed I am willing at any time to serve as a cavalryman in protecting the coast from invasion. While I am a mixed-blood Indian and you are a white man, there should be no difference between us in serving our country. We are all brothers in this cause.

Far down among the silent buttes and sand hills, below where the Oregon thunders, on the Warm Springs Reservation, Oreg., the Paiute Indians sent this message:

I am sending you a statement in which I express the opinion of the whole Paiute Tribe. We have thought much about this great war, more so since it has called our sons to arms. The Stars and Stripes you brought to us we know was for peace. Our tracks we still remember around the flagpole, our witness still stands, and we behold the Stars and Stripes day after day which made us equal. The monument which is to be erected to the Vanishing Race we remember, but we want to show to the world that we are not going to die without we show that we are ready to answer to the call to help defend our Mother Earth in beloved America. Ours and your borders and lives must and shall be protected by our sons. Our wish and our prayer is that our sons be sent into the fight. We only ask that their bodies be sent home to us to rest under the ground of our Mother Earth over where the Stars and Stripes wave to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you one or two questions?

Dr. DIXON. I shall be delighted.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been working among the Indians of this country a good many years and are very familiar with their condition and the situation under which they find themselves. Has it been your experience that they are willing to go into the Army of the United States provided they can be put into regiments composed of men of their own race?

Dr. DIXON. Decidedly so. It has been my privilege since last February—and I have had many enjoyable and fruitful conversations with the chairman of this committee during that time, noting to him the progress made—to have visited all the camps and hospitals on the Atlantic seaboard, interviewing, photographing, and studying the Indians who have returned from across the seas, as well as wounded Indians. In addition, interviewing the officers with reference to the Indians, and I found that a great many of these Indians at the time were going into the Regular Army, enlisting, and I am very safe in saying that I think that 80 per cent of the officers said to me directly that they would organize the Indians into regiments by themselves; that they would segregate the Indian troops; that they fought better.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just going to ask you what would be the consequence of putting them into regiments composed of men of their own race, what advantage would there be in that?

Dr. DIXON. The advantage, Mr. Chairman, would be that a national esprit de corps would be established and maintained. Lieut. Col. William J. Morrissey, commanding Second Battalion, One hundred and forty-second Infantry, Thirty-sixth Division, said this to me: "I had a group of Indians on the St. Mihiel front, and they were all together. But the moment I detached them for special service they would leave the men where they were and start out individually to lick Germany alone. So long as they were in their own company, massed together as Indians, they were on the very forefront of the battle line, and if I ever wanted to find one of those Indians all I had to do was to go to the front line, and when one fell another took his place. But when they were banded together, they seemed to know each other's methods of fighting, obeyed orders implicitly, and went forward to overwhelm Germany." He further said that the Indian considered that the heel of his shoe was the border line of the United States; that everything behind him, even to the Atlantic Ocean, and beyond was the United States, and every-

thing in front of the toe of his shoe was Germany, and he set out to give it hell.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated at the outset that the Secretary of War opposed the proposition of having 10 regiments of Cavalry composed of Indians on the score that he wanted these men to be enlisted with the usual regiments which are made up of all classes of people; and you said that there were 17,000 Indians who fought in our Army during this war. Were those men in any particular organization in considerable numbers?

Dr. DIXON. Not in "considerable numbers," Mr. Chairman. The Three hundred and fifty-eighth Infantry of the Ninetieth Division went out 1,440 strong from Texas and Oklahoma, a complete Indian regiment; they came back so shattered that they numbered only 260; the rest of them are under the sod of France. There were whole companies of Indians scattered through various divisions. There were 100 Indians in the Second and Third Battalions of the Forty-second Division. The Indians were sent in large bodies as replacements to many decimated organizations; also a whole company in the Second Battalion, One hundred and forty-second Infantry, Thirty-sixth Division, known as the Indian company.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly; that is just what I was getting at.

Dr. DIXON. But there was no division, and outside of the Three hundred and fifty-eighth Infantry I do not know of a single regiment, but that regiment distinguished itself among all of the divisions and I have a letter here—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). It was largely an Indian regiment, was it?

Dr. DIXON. It was entirely an Indian regiment, and it was officered by Indians; and I asked the personnel adjutant of the Third Battalion of that regiment, who had 15 Indians in his battalion: "If you had to go back to France and fight, would you take any Indians with you?" He said, "I would not take anything else."

When I get further along—this very point I have amplified, but I want to answer your question. Back of the desire of the Secretary of War to place Indians promiscuously, was this objection that came from the Indian Office. He referred the matter to the Indian Commissioner and was satisfied to accept his view in the matter, and his policy was based on a disposition to nullify every thing that would look toward Indian citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these 17,000 men who fought under our flag in this war citizens?

Dr. DIXON. The Indian who is a citizen to-day is a citizen nominally, but he is not a citizen in fact, and many of them were not citizens at all and many were drafted.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not claim exemption, did they?

Dr. DIXON. No, sir; they cheerfully accepted the situation. I am anticipating now what is coming, but I am going to tell it right here. In the Debarkation Hospital No. 5 in the Grand Central Palace in the city of New York I photographed a young Sioux Indian whose father fought Custer, who had a bullet through his shoulder and his arm shattered and his hip torn, who stood in the very forefront of the battle of St. Mihiel and took an enfilading fire, five men dropping by his side; and I said, "Whirl Wind Horse, how did you come to get into this fight?" "How old are you?" "I am 27."



"Where did you live?" "Pine Ridge Agency, S. Dak." "Are you a citizen of the United States?" "No." "How did you come to get into this fight?" "They drafted me. They said, 'you are a ward of the Government; you have no rights.'" These are his exact words. "You must go and fight." "I said to them, 'all right. I will go and fight for the rights of a country that will not give me my rights.'"

And there he was all shattered up. His picture is here [exhibiting photograph to the members of the committee].

Mr. OLNEY. How about the officers of the Indian regiments? Would you have white officers in command?

Dr. DIXON. There have been developed during this war Indian majors and captains who could command any set of troops. I have the testimony of men further along to show that very same thing, that they would trust these Indian officers with any set of troops.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those Indian officers trained as officers in our training camps?

Dr. DIXON. I presume they were, but some of them were promoted on the battle field.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the presumption is that they were thoroughly familiar with the tactics employed by our Army and could give the necessary commands?

Dr. DIXON. They certainly could, and certainly did, and besides were guilty of that unforgivable offense in some localities of being able to take the initiative.

Mr. JAMES. Doctor, suppose we had a standing army of 280,000 men, and we had a provision by which they could be segregated into their own regiments, about how many volunteers do you suppose we would get out of that 280,000 men in the Regular Army?

Dr. DIXON. I am contending here to-day, Mr. Congressmen, for a division of Indian troops.

The CHAIRMAN. A war-time division is 27,000?

Dr. DIXON. Twenty-seven thousand men; that is, of all branches. But the division could be filled.

The CHAIRMAN. It really is 27,000 men of combat troops; it is 36,000 or 37,000 men of all branches?

Dr. DIXON. I wonder if it would be in order for me to read a letter from Gen. Pershing on this very point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we are glad to have you do that.

Dr. DIXON. I sent a transcript of the argument I am now delivering to Gen. Pershing for his study and opinion. [Reading:]

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES,  
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF,  
Washington, D. C., November 30, 1919.

Dr. JOSEPH K. DIXON,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR DR. DIXON: I have your letter of November 13 with reference to the argument that you intend to deliver before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, for incorporating one or more Indian divisions in the United States Army when it is reorganized.

The whole subject of the organization of the Army, as you know, is now before Congress, and in addition to whatever force constitutes the Regular Army, universal training for our citizens has been proposed. If the policy of universal training should be adopted, there would probably be territorial divisions composed of citizen soldiers, and, in addition, there would also be certain Army troops, probably including Cavalry divisions. Indians would undoubtedly be included in the organized citizen army, and there would seem to be every reason for having the units in the Indian communi-

ties composed largely of Indians. It might even be that the number undergoing training would be sufficient so that some of the larger units could be composed entirely of Indians, but I doubt if the total Indian population would be sufficient in any one community or locality to organize an entire division. Nevertheless the principle might be carried out as far as members would permit. This would be entirely a matter of policy, and under the proposed laws could be governed by regulations.

Your arguments are most interesting and I thank you for having sent them to me.

Very sincerely, yours,

JOHN J. PERSHING.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, you may proceed.

Dr. DIXON. In answer to the call of President Wilson for troops, the Menominee Tribe in northern Wisconsin passed resolutions stating:

That the Menominees, in mass meeting assembled, hereby assure President Wilson of their loyal support and earnest desire to cooperate in the prosecution of the war in any manner or capacity where their services may be required and call upon all the eligible men to prepare themselves by such home training as may be possible in preparing them for the call to arms. The members of the tribe are ready if need be, to utilize their property and their tribal funds and develop the natural resources of the reservation along any and all lines which may be beneficial to the Government in carrying on the war.

The Menominee Indians are among the very few Indians tribes in the United States to have a Grand Army post, having sent a regiment of Indians from their tribe in the Civil War to fight for the emancipation of the black man, who, soon after his emancipation, was given the right of franchise.

From southern California, the land of sunshine and the land of hardships for the Indian, the Mission Indians from Cahuilla sent this message—after relating the story of how they have been deprived of their rights and how they have been downtrodden under the foot of civilization; how they have never found it in their hearts to strike back or raise arms against the white man; how they have managed to live peaceably and peacefully, they claim:

Though we fully realize that we have been practically denied all the rights and privileges of having the same rights and enjoyments as some other people have, our young men all over the country, without having any right to justify them to enter the Army, have willingly volunteered and enlisted, some in the Navy and some in the Army, to fight for Uncle Sam, realizing that it is for the good of the country; and if they are not doing enough to guarantee them the rights of citizenship, then let it stand as it is. We are a part of the country, we are the seed of the country, original natives of the country; but the law practically fails to recognize us.

From the Choctaw Tribe, Union, Miss., we got this message:

Our people here are in hearty accord with the spirit of work of the National American Indian Memorial Association, particularly its effort to show the Indians their patriotic duty. Our people, the Choctaws, have ever been loyal to the United States and aided the United States in her early history. Doubtless you are familiar with the biography of Chief Pushmataha, the friend of Stonewall Jackson, and know of the valiant and important part played by the Choctaws in the war with the British, especially the Battle of New Orleans, which, as every historian agrees, turned the tide in favor of the United States. In spite of the terrible way the United States has treated and neglected the Choctaws here, they are still loyal, and the spirit of patriotism is easily kindled.

Then there comes from Santo Domingo, N. Mex., the Pueblos, this message:

The Council of Santo Domingo went in session with all the governors and principals, and are ready to help the country with anything within our power. We wish to express our fidelity to our flag, and loyalty to our country, and our willingness to fight to any extremity in defense of our Government when our land at any of our boundaries may be invaded.

From the fighting Sioux, whom Custer called "cutthroats," this message was sent:

We are at present organizing a Cavalry Home Guard in this district, Cherry Creek, S. Dak., also taking a great interest in anything that will help win the war; so that makes me think that your proposition will be met with approval. The seriousness of the war should be explained to my people more than it has been done. There ought to be pamphlets of the most important parts of the war translated into the Sioux language, so they could digest it more easily. As it is, they are doing some great work, especially for the Red Cross.

And thus, the spirit of patriotism, the ringing voice of an oppressed people ready to help the Government win the great war came from tribe after tribe, until finally all replies were stopped. Two or three of the nastiest letters that ever came from a puerile mind and a vitriolic pen were sent the writer from two superintendents in the State of Oklahoma, in which they claimed, under the direct instructions of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, they would not allow any of the letters to be delivered to the Indians, nor would they allow the Indians to make any reply.

This is a matter of such grave importance and seems to be such a striking example of the hypocrisy of patriotism that I ask your permission to insert these letters as giving their own proof of autocracy in dealing with the Indian with reference to his patriotism and a stubborn refusal to allow the outside world an entrance within the prison bars of the reservation. In addition, these letters prove how glaringly inconsistent is the régime of the Indian Office, for at the very moment they were giving expressions of laudation to the Indian for his patriotism, yet under cover of officialdom they were undermining among the Indians the very principle of liberty and patriotism. [Reading:]

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE,  
CANTONMENT INDIAN AGENCY,  
Cantonment, Okla., January 24, 1918.

DR. JOSEPH KOSSUTH DIXON,  
*Philadelphia, Pa.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of a communication from you to the business council of cantonment school, care of Mr. Robert E. L. Daniel, superintendent, Cantonment, Okla., also a paper headed, "Patriotic Sentiment of the Indian," which is to be signed by the Indians upon this reservation. Also copy of the argument by yourself before the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth Congress, relative to the creation of distinctively Indian military organization for the protection of the southern border.

Replying thereto I respectfully submit that I am acting under instructions from the Interior Department, through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the regulations of the Indian Office, cooperating with the Army, are very clear and positive and seem to cover the question of Indian military services completely and satisfactorily.

I am returning your letters and papers to you without action for the reason that I am not informed as to your authority for such action in these matters, and until I am instructed specifically upon the subject by my department, I must respectfully decline to be a party to your wishes.

Very respectfully,

ROBERT E. L. DANIEL,  
*Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent.*

I sent the following reply to this formidable document. [Reading:]

NATIONAL AMERICAN INDIAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION,  
Philadelphia, Pa., February 20, 1918.

MR. ROBERT E. L. DANIEL,  
Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent,  
Cantonment Indian Agency, Cantonment, Okla.

MY DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your favor of January 24. Let me quote a paragraph from your letter concerning which let me ask you to tell me more fully your meaning: "I am acting under instructions from the Interior Department through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The regulations of the Indian Office cooperating with the Army are very clear and positive, and seem to cover the question of Indian military services completely and satisfactorily."

I am quite at a loss to know how the request sent to the Indians on the Cantonment Reservation that the Indians express their patriotic sentiment should in any way conflict with any regulations of the Indian Office. You further state: "I am returning your letters and papers to you without action for the reason that I am not informed as to your authority for such action in these matters, and until I am instructed specifically upon the subject by my department, I must respectfully decline to be a party to your wishes."

You will let me say that I have been laboring under the impression that it required no authority to ask the Indian to say whether he loved the flag or not, or whether he were willing or not to defend the flag. Am I to understand by your statement that the Indian is restricted in the matter of expressing his patriotism? If so, then your refusal to submit the patriotic sentiment of the Indian is quite compatible with the practice of the department; if not, then your instructions restrict the Indian from an independent expression of his love of country. I will take it as a great favor if you will set me straight in this matter.

I am inclosing a clipping from the Evening Telegraph (Philadelphia, Pa.), February 19, in which Commissioner Sells is quoted in the last paragraph as being highly in favor of the patriotic fervor and martial spirit of the Indian. That is all my document sent to the tribes comprehended, and your instructions seem to reverse the statement expressed by the commissioner in his letter to the American Indian League in New York City. An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

Faithfully, yours,

JOSEPH K. DIXON.

The reply to my letter to Mr. Daniel which I am to read to you would be a grotesque joke were it not such a pathetic revelation of the utter antagonism of the entire Indian administration to any purpose or power to help the Indian when exercised outside of the Indian administration itself. The letter is also a fair sample of the virulent spirit and lack of human interest that supervises the personal destiny of the Indian. The "fools errand" invieghed against was the patriotic expedition of citizenship sent out by Mr. Rodman Wanamaker to all the 189 tribes of Indians in the United States, an expedition which changed the destiny of the race, at which time a flag was presented to each tribe, the first time the Indian had ever owned a flag, and by thumb-print and pen every tribe without the loss of one signed a declaration of allegiance to the United States Government. Manifestly no hand is to be lifted outside of the Indian Office for the weal of the Indian, and manifestly the only hand lifted by the Indian administration for the Indian is the hand of woe. [Reading:]

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE,  
CANTONMENT INDIAN AGENCY,  
Cantonment, Okla., March 1, 1918.

Dr. JOSEPH K. DIXON,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of February 20, 1918, requesting me to explain more fully the meaning of my letter to you of January 24, 1918, relative to "The patriotic sentiment" which I declined to submit to the Indians of this reservation.

No, I'll not explain more fully, for the reason that if you could not understand my first letter you would not understand any others I might write. In view of your desire to find fault with my official act and evident readiness to criticize the Indian Office, I do not hesitate to tell you, sir, that I do not care two snaps of your finger what you think of my official or private acts, and I do not care to hear what you think of the department of the Government of which I have the honor to be a part.

The fools errand which you appear to have featured some years back at the expense of a misinformed and misguided philanthropist placed you in a class by yourself, more to be shunned by level-headed friends of the American Indian than the penny-wise and pound-foolish scheme to organize a big Wild West show under the camouflage of Indian military duty by special favor. I suggest that if you want to live up to "The patriotic sentiment" you get behind some movement that will place you in the ranks of producers of necessities of life instead of standing out boldly as a useless consumer, if you have not already caught the inspiration. Then you can safely leave the military service of the Indians to military authorities competent to handle the subject with benefit and credit to the Indian and his country.

The North American Indian is writing the history of his patriotism and loyalty to our flag and that of Canada in his blood upon the battle field side by side with his white brother as a soldier and citizen, and no loyal citizen of this country would deprive him of that God-given honor and distinction.

Very respectfully,

ROBT. E. L. DANIEL

*Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent.*

I beg leave to submit another characteristic letter and my reply.  
[Reading:]

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE,  
SEGER INDIAN AGENCY,  
Colony, Okla., February 11, 1918.

Dr. JOSEPH K. DIXON,  
*Philadelphia, Pa.*

DEAR SIR: Receipt is acknowledged of your communication addressed to the business council of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, Seger Indian School, in my care and this is to inform you that the Interior Department is not in sympathy with this movement and for this reason I do not feel that I should be expected to take this matter up with the Indians of this reservation. Our purpose has been to have the Indians and white race to act so much in common that it would not seem proper that we should ask the Indian to withdraw into separate unions for military service, in fact I do not believe that any great number of the Indians of this reservation could pass the required physical examination and it would be a disappointment to them were they to make an effort to do something which we are certain in advance could not be accomplished. I therefore am returning your correspondence and unless directed to do so by the commissioner I shall not feel called upon to even discuss this plan with them.

Yours, respectfully,

JESSE W. SMITH,

*Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent.*

NATIONAL AMERICAN INDIAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION,  
Thirteenth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., February 20, 1918.

Mr. JESSE W. SMITH,  
*Superintendent, Seger Indian Agency, Colony, Okla.*

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your favor of February 11. Let me quote a sentence: "The Interior Department is not in sympathy with this movement, and for this reason I do not feel that I should be expected to take this matter up with the Indians of this reservation."

You will let me say that all that is comprehended in the documents sent you is to allow the Indian to express to the country his patriotic sentiment—his love for the flag—and his willingness to fight for the flag; that is absolutely all. The Interior Department or Indian administration is not in sympathy, you say, with that idea, which seems to contradict the statement made in a letter addressed by Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of the Indian Office, to the president of the American Indian

League in New York City, a paragraph of which was published in the Evening Telegraph, of Philadelphia, last night, February 19, in which he says:

"There is something both epochal and eloquent in the patriotic fervor and martial spirit of the Indians everywhere during the recent months that has brought a clarion call to every loyal heart."

If the Indian department is opposed to the Indian expressing his patriotic sentiment, then why this statement by the commissioner?

Later you say:

"I do not believe that any great number of the Indians of this reservation could pass the required physical examination, and it would be a disappointment to them were they to make an effort to do something which we are certain in advance could not be accomplished."

Will you have the goodness to tell me how many Indians there are on your reservation, and why you think they are incapacitated for Army service, and what is the cause of such inability?

Hoping for an early reply, I am,

Faithfully, yours,

JOSEPH K. DIXON.

This attitude seemed so hostile to the spirit of patriotism and so wickedly despotic—that they could take care of the patriotism of the Indian without any outside interference—that I sought to find out by what authority the Commissioner of Indian Affairs could make more abject the condition of this subject race of people; why the commissioner could be allowed to send out flaring statements regarding the patriotism of the Indian, and then, under cover of his office, put an absolute embargo upon any expression of patriotism on the part of the Indian.

I therefore took the matter up directly with the Attorney General and the Postmaster General. A paper was handed to me by the Assistant Postmaster General outlining rules and regulations governing the mail delivered to the penitentiaries of the United States, wherein it was claimed that the warden of the penitentiary had the right to prevent any mail from being delivered to the convicts in the penitentiary, and also had the right to prevent any mail going out of the penitentiary to the outside world, and that the Indian Commissioner, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had the supervision of the Indian as his ward and placed him under the same embargo and on the same platform as the convict of the penitentiaries of the United States.

Mr. JAMES. Was that the only reason given?

Dr. DIXON. That was the only reason given.

Mr. McKENZIE. Does that man still hold a job?

Dr. DIXON. That man still holds his job and is likely to until—  
[Laughter.]

Mr. WISE. How long has he been in charge?

The CHAIRMAN. Six years.

Dr. DIXON. Six years too long.

Thus it happens that we have a distinct and striking example of how utterly abject the Indian is, and how he is without question a subject race within the borders of this Nation. Can it be explained on any ground of common sense, any ground of fair play, any ground of justice, that the Indian shall not have a right to express his patriotism, even though he did not put that patriotism into action behind the guns on the western front? You will let me ask you to note that while the Indian, in the majority of cases a ward of the Government, was treated as a convict but still was considered

worthy of being drafted, that the convict on whose level he was placed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was not drafted in a single instance. The Indian was conscripted from the prison of the reservation, but the convict from the penitentiary was not called from behind his prison bars. Where lies the justice?

But still when the Indian enlisted and went to the front there was not a single prison door opened to draft a convict from the penitentiaries. They would take an Indian who was a ward, and treated as a convict, and draft him and send him to the front, and then close the prison doors and keep the convicts inside the prison.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Dixon, do you know of any case where a single Indian was drafted for this war, where the Indian refused to go on the ground that he was not a citizen of the United States; in other words, that he claimed exemption on that ground?

Dr. DIXON. No, I do not know of a case of that kind, Mr. Chairman. There is a case which would be brought to your notice, probably, of the Onondagas at Syracuse, who had a treaty that made provision against any such thing as that, but it was not on the ground of citizenship, but was on the ground of their ancient treaty, and they held by the treaty rights.

Mr. JAMES. Were there any volunteers from that tribe?

Dr. DIXON. A great many of them.

Mr. JAMES. Do you know about how many?

Dr. DIXON. I can not tell you the number, but there were a large number.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is possible to get the numbers you can put them into the hearing later.

Dr. DIXON. I will do that, and do it with pleasure.

(In compliance with the above, Dr. Dixon wrote to Dr. Erl A. Bates, president of the Onondaga Indian Welfare Association, who says in reply:)

No Iroquois Indian was drafted, and no attempt was made by those charged with that work. All Indians on the Iroquois Reservation were registered, but not until after the council had officially approved of our request. Our request carried with it, that until their legal status was determined, no attempt to draft them would be undertaken. At the time of registration, they all claimed exemption on the ground of being subjects of independent nations and subject to military duty only under orders of their council. \* \* \* A local Indian board of two Indians and one white registrar had charge of the registration and the Indians willingly submitted to such action with the provisions passed first by their councils. Every Iroquois who desired to volunteer went to his clan grandmother and his council for consent and was enlisted with the distinct understanding that such enlistment did not change his status. Many Iroquois living off their reservations were exempted by local boards on grounds of being Iroquois Indians. As to the total number of volunteers, I can only speak accurately for the Onondagas who furnished 18; the Senecas, Tuscaroras, St. Regis, Mohawk and Cayugas and Oneidas furnished a total well over 100, while the Iroquois in New York and Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse also enlisted in comparatively large numbers. \* \* \* There were 58 volunteers in our Bates troop for the Roosevelt expedition, and nearly all found their way into the Army, Navy, or Marines.

Mr. GREENE. Apart from the operation of the selective services on the Indian, was there considerable volunteering prior to the enforcement of that act?

Dr. DIXON. A great many Indian young men, especially young men who had been attending high schools, fairly rushed to the places of enlistment and volunteered.

Mr. GREENE. I had understood so. Was there any disposition to exclude them or to make the terms of admission so unreasonable that they might be technically excluded, or anything like that?

Dr. DIXON. There is just such an example present. Here is a young Flathead Indian who tried and tried to get in, and they cut him out. His name is Barnaby. You can ask him later to tell his own story. His patriotic persistence finally enrolled him in the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Doctor, you may go on.

Dr. DIXON. While the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was halting the mails and preventing the Indian from expressing his spirit of patriotism, Gen. Pershing was asked for his opinion regarding the desirability of passing the Indian Cavalry bill. And at this time 17,000 of them were going over, and that is not my estimate, but it is the record in The Adjutant General's second report, 17,300. The Indian Office says 10,000; they do not know whether it was 10,000 or how many thousand. Gen. Pershing sent me this letter, which your honored chairman has seen (reading):

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES,  
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF,  
*France, September 3, 1918.*

Dr. JOSEPH K. DIXON,  
*Educational Bureau,  
John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Pa.*

DEAR DR. DIXON: I have your letter of July 30, with inclosures, and desire to express my hearty approval of your effort to enlist 10 or more regiments of American Indians on the ground of giving them citizenship.

With his characteristic prowess, the Indian should give a good account of himself either in patrolling the Mexican border or in work on the western front. Moreover, the present crisis of our Nation's history would offer a most propitious occasion for this great race to demonstrate its loyalty to the flag by pledging its inherent fighting qualities to the cause of civilization, the principles of which it has been rather slow to embrace.

With best wishes, believe me,

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN J. PERSHING.

Because of its strength I was almost afraid to use that letter, and I wrote Gen. Pershing a long letter of appreciation of his ability as a scientific exploiter of arms and of his discernment, and asked him to cable me if I could use it. Let me read my letter to Gen. Pershing and his cabled reply. [Reading:]

EDUCATIONAL BUREAU,  
JOHN WANAMAKER,  
*Philadelphia, October 28, 1918.*

DEAR GENERAL PERSHING: Nothing could be finer than your splendid letter of September 3, which has been long on the way. It gives me extreme pleasure that you have so unreservedly indorsed the idea of utilizing the now wasted Indian man power by incorporating them into our Army system.

Matters are progressing. I am expecting shortly to go before the Military Committee of the Senate to go over further details with the members. I am greatly pleased with your letter and its contents. Your strong, manly statement, borne out by your experience with the Indian, your knowledge of the science of warfare, your desire to see justice done to a great race of people, makes out of it a powerful aid to the passage of the measure. I wonder, therefore, if I may have your permission to use it before the committee.

I fully felt from your frank and virile statement that you designed me to so use it, but I thought best to wait until I had your express permission.

As the time is short, I wonder if you would have the goodness to send me a cable, expense, which I will most deeply appreciate.



All the medals of honor and distinctions that could be conferred upon you by all the nations at war with Germany, could only give a hint of the appreciation of the whole of America, for your glorious triumphs on the field of battle. Our prayers for even greater victories are constantly yours.

With all best wishes,  
Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH K. DIXON,  
*For Unconditional Surrender.*

Gen. JOHN J. PERSHING,  
*American Expeditionary Forces,  
Office of the Commander in Chief,  
France.*

[Cablegram.]

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JOS. DIXON,  
*Care Wanamaker, Philadelphia.*

No objection to your using my letter of September 3.

PERSHING.

It is apparent, therefore, that Mr. Rodman Wanamaker in his supreme effort to give the Indian a distinct place in the war, was supported by master military minds—and there is one sitting at the head of the table from me, the chairman of this committee, Mr. Kahn, who gave that same sort of prescient look on this whole question—who gave their sanction to the enlistment of Indians and the segregation of Indian troops, and yet despite the fact that Gen. Pershing approved, despite the fact that Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott approved, despite the fact that Maj. Frank Knox approved and many others, despite the fact that the Secretary of War displaced the program, despite the fact that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs placed his embargo upon the great patriotic endeavor to give a whole race of people an opportunity to express their patriotism, even though they were willing to make a contract to die for a flag that was not their flag, even though this same Commissioner of Indian Affairs halted the Indian from even the expression of his patriotism, and confined it solely to the environment of the bureaucratic rule of Indian administration, despite these facts, over 17,000 Indians rallied to the support of the flag and the menaced liberty of our country.

Quick at the bidding of their country's call  
Across the wide, far ranges red men come,  
Forgetting wrongs committed on their race;  
They hear the drum beats like the tom-tom's call  
To sit in judgment at the council place;  
And grave, erect, stern-eyed, they muster in  
Beside the white man, brother now in need.

—Jean Brook Burt.

The story of the participation in the fighting on the western front is a new Odessy. The Indian, though a man without a country, the Indian, who had suffered a thousand wrongs, considered the white man's burden, placed himself in the struggle to help crush the unspeakable tyranny of the Hun. The Indian helped to free Belgium, helped to free all the small nations, helped to give victory to the Stars and Stripes. The Indian went to France to avenge the ravages of autocracy. What pen is virile and audacious enough to tell the story?

Stretching from the white foam of the North Sea on by the white summits of the Alps in the south to the restless and island-dotted Adriatic, in one serried battle line, more than 50 nationalities had forged a line of steel, and assembled millions of men, armament, and scientific war equipment, such as blots out the record on all the pages of history in all the story of the world. The enginery of destruction baffles thought and stifles imagination. The ground on which the fighting hosts marched quivered and split open at the fiat of monster guns. The peaceful sky became intoxicated with inverted volcanoes, no moment, no place was ever free from the grinding thrust of the bayonet, the crashing, tearing grenade. Death walked forth in the triumph of a great holiday—and in his footprints left a million crosses, wounds and agony, blinded eyes and dismantled bodies, bloodshed and untold horrors, until hell forgot her mockery. These millions of men, gathered on these battle plains were fighting the shock troops of hell. They were fighting for the annihilation of mental, moral, and social despotism, fighting for the liberty of all peoples, fighting because a treaty had been made a "scrap of paper," and heroic little Belgium had been trampled under the feet of the barbarian German hordes.

The contest raged, the triumph of right above might swayed in the balance. England and France sent their wild call over the seas: "Send us men; send more men." All available shipping was impressed, and the tide of khaki-clad men began to overflow the devastated fields of France.

But among all this host, distinguished from all the men from the western world, there is a new type of man, though an old type of fighter, the Red Man. He was here when Columbus came; here when the *Mayflower* came; here when independence was declared; here when he fought to help free the black man; here because the remnant of his race had not yet been driven into the Pacific Ocean.

The Red Man said: "My fathers once owned this country; I have no place or lot in the Government; I can not call a single thread in the Stars and Stripes—the flag of the land—mine; but I can not see that flag go down. I must cross the seas with my white brother and fight for the integrity of a treaty. It is true that every treaty the white man has made with my Indian brothers has been turned by those same white men into a 'scrap of paper.' I can not fight here for my own treaty, but I can and will fight for Belgium's scrap of paper."

Mr. McKENZIE. May I ask you a question right there? Would it disturb you? You are making a very eloquent appeal, it seems to me, for citizenship of the Red Man, and stating that one way he can obtain it is by entering the Military Service of the United States. Would it not be a better way to go at it and grant citizenship to these people who deserve it, in my judgment, much more than many people who are now exercising the rights of citizenship in our country, and when that is done then they will stand on the same footing as the white men of this country and be subject to military call the same as any one else? Would it not be a practical and sane way to go at this thing?

Dr. DIXON. That would be practical, it would be sane, it would be patriotic, it would be just, it would be fair, and I would put upon your head a crown, just such a crown as I would put upon the head of

George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and the lamented Roosevelt if you could utter a fiat that would do just that thing.

When President Wilson went across the seas on his first—I am not going to describe it——

A VOICE. Expedition?

Dr. DIXON. On his first—let it go at that. The gentleman has furnished my cue. I wrote him a letter and I said:

The self-determination of little peoples is now within your grasp with reference to the North American Indian. Utter, announce, an emancipation proclamation making them a free people, granting them citizenship, abolishing the reservation system and the bureaucracy of the Indian Bureau and let them go free, and that will do more at the council of Versailles to substantiate one of the tenets of the 14 points than anything that can be done.

I know that Mr. Wilson received that letter, because I had a scratch of a pen from Mr. Tumulty acknowledging the receipt of it. [Reading letter to President Wilson and Mr. Tumulty's reply:]

EDUCATIONAL BUREAU,  
JOHN WANAMAKER,  
*Philadelphia, November 13, 1918.*

MR. PRESIDENT: These are epochal and crucial hours for the nations of the world. Will you have the kindness to let me open the gates for a sublime presidential enactment that will become the climax of it all?

#### THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.

1. Declare all Indians who have served in any capacity in the United States military forces, to be, from even date, full citizens of the United States.

2. Declare all Indians of age to the date of April 6, 1917, the day war was declared, to have full citizenship.

3. Declare all Indian children born after April 6, 1917, to have full citizenship upon reaching their majority.

4. Declare the abolition of the reservation system.

5. Due safeguards to be thrown around full-blood Indians, and those unable to protect themselves from the designs of white men.

6. Due safeguards to be thrown around all lands and property rights inherited or in possession or that may accrue.

All this is in direct conformity with your wide-minded statesmanship and the humaneness of your outlook in compelling the Old World to accept the doctrine of the self-determination of small peoples.

The Indian, though a man without a country, the Indian who has suffered a thousand wrongs—considered the white man's burden—and from the mountains, plains, and divides the Indian threw himself into the struggle to help throttle the unthinkable tyranny of the Hun.

The Indian helped to free Belgium, helped to free all the small nations, helped to give victory to the Stars and Stripes. The Indian went to France to help avenge the ravages of autocracy.

Now, shall we not redeem ourselves by redeeming all the tribes? By their own act they have been blood-redeemed.

And, now, again, President Woodrow Wilson, as a peace memorial, "Will lift up a standard for the people." Sweep clean the national house of democracy and put the crown on the goddess of victory by issuing a proclamation of emancipation for the North American Indian, who has shed his blood for a country and a flag that he could not call his own.

I am sending you a copy of my argument before the Military Committee of the House of Representatives for the enlistment of 10 or more regiments of Indian cavalry on the ground of giving them citizenship. I have marked for your easy reading some of the salient features.

At the risk of being too long, will you let me urge, at this momentous moment, when America is focused in the eye of all the world, that such a proclamation as has been suggested would not only work out justice and fair play to a long-oppressed race of people, but the fiat would stand out as the most striking consummation of our wonderful achievement at arms in bringing freedom to all peoples.

If there is any phase of this great subject that I can further in any way please command such service at any time.

With all best wishes for your great work, carried out in such a great way, I am,  
Faithfully, yours,

JOSEPH K. DIXON.

The President, WOODROW WILSON,  
*The White House, Washington, D. C.*

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
*Washington, November 16, 1918.*

MY DEAR DR. DIXON: The President asks me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 13 with inclosures.

Sincerely, yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,  
*Secretary to the President.*

Dr. JOSEPH K. DIXON,  
*Educational Bureau, John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Mr. McKenzie, in further reply to your question, can you tell me how you are to give this citizenship to the Indian when the President of the United States ignores the opportunity to verify one of his 14 points on American soil, and my plea to him for the emancipation of the Indian is rewarded by a one-sentence reply of acknowledgment and this in addition to the fact that the President said in his Mobile speech: "Liberty must be assured to every man, woman, and child in the broad domain of the United States"? And the President said in his message to Russia: "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." But this righteous doctrine is ignored. Weigh also the fact that 33 years ago—a full generation—Henry Laurens Dawes wrote and procured the passage of a bill which gave the Indian full citizenship, but since that day the principle of that bill has been so modified, amended, and nullified that we have never seen the full effect of the law? The bill just passed by the Congress is just as meretricious and will meet with the same political fate in its benefit to the Indian. I ask again, How is it to be done?

I am coming in a moment to that crucial point, and I am so happy that you men are kind and patient with me to let me get through this, because I feel so profoundly that it is vital to the interests of a great race of people that you simply carry it on through this new phase of things I am going to propose.

Not alone content to make a historic record of this vanishing race, both as to their character, the wrongs inflicted upon them, as well as a photographic record of their life history, Mr. Rodman Wanamaker felt again most profoundly that there should be a historic record made of the Indian as a fighting force in this great World War. In pursuance of this purpose, the speaker has visited all of the camps and hospitals on the Atlantic seaboard, together with the battleships of the fleet anchored in the Hudson River, and also has taken more than 250 photographs of Indians representing all arms of the service—the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Some of the Indians were interviewed in camp and on board the battleships, but many of them were interviewed in the hospitals—some with a leg off, some with an eye out, some with an arm off, some with shattered bodies. Officers interviewed, from the commanding officer to the corporal or petty officer, who have had Indians under their command, officers

who have added luster and renown to the pages of military history, all with one accord render universal and enthusiastic commendation of the brilliance, the stability, the amenability to discipline, the heroism and valor of the Indian as a fighting force in our American Army and Navy. I could detain you for hours, were it advisable, with the story of Indian prowess. You will let me, I doubt not, refer simply to several striking instances, and there are hundreds of others that are equally forceful and equally befitting.

The CHAIRMAN. For the sake of the record, Doctor, can you give us approximately what the number of Indians is in this country?

Dr. DIXON. There are 320,000. There were 1,200,000 when the white men came. They have decreased at the rate of 65 per cent, due to the following causes:

First. The introduction of disease—by the white man.

Second. The introduction of whisky—by the white man.

Third. Tribal wars—and warfare with the white man.

Fourth. The housing of the Indian upon inhospitable reservations—by the white man.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of those 320,000 are of military age; that is, from 18 to 45 years of age, males?

Dr. DIXON. About 50,000.

Mr. OLNEY. Is not the race increasing in population rather than decreasing, as you say?

Dr. DIXON. It increases in this way: When a new oil field or a new mine or a new tract of timber is found in any locality belonging to the Indians, or is opened up by the Government, as in the case of Oklahoma, when Negroes and other nationalities who have a strain of Indian blood in them were exploited by cunning real estate men to employ them to get title to those lands, then the Indian population increased. The Navajo Indians have increased. The Navajo has no treaty. There are 28,000 of them now; there were 22,000 when they were brought up and placed on the Arizona Desert. The crime of it all is that they are now going to try to allocate all of that desert. Col. Roosevelt preached against it, but they found copper and oil there, and now our poor Government is in need of oil and copper and they are going to take it from the Indian. But the Navajo has increased and stands erect and dignified, because he has conquered that desert. He is a wonderful man. You could not grow a radish out there any more than you could grow an angel.

Mr. GREENE. Where do you get those figures there, 1,200,000, as the original population?

Dr. DIXON. That is the census taken by the Bureau of Ethnology. James Mooney worked upon the question of population for three or four years, and he searched all the records, and the result of his work is published in the Hand Book of American Indians, volume 2.

Mr. GREENE. That is, the Smithsonian Institution?

Dr. DIXON. Yes.

Mr. GREENE. At one time, as I recall, various estimates that have been made by scholars and statisticians seem to approximate the figures that there were about 500,000; that is to say, they thought that the original impressions of the earliest settlers as to the probable number were very likely not only very inaccurate but greatly exaggerated, because the Indians were moving and so on, and that those early settlers had in mind the Indians east of the Mississippi River.

Dr. DIXON. The statement is made "North of Mexico."

Mr. GREENE. So that your figures include Mexico?

Dr. DIXON. No, north of Mexico.

Mr. GREENE. But east of the Mississippi?

Dr. DIXON. Yes, the whole region.

Mr. GREENE. What I mean is that those original estimates made a great many years ago in almost all literature about the Indians, placed the figures at anywhere from 300,000 to 500,000. That is the reason why I inquired if your statement referred to a recent estimate?

Dr. DIXON. The estimate I gave you was published in 1912 by the Bureau of Ethnology, and is authoritative.

Mr. GREENE. Was that original estimate of between 300,000 and 500,000 confined to an estimate of the Indian inhabitants east of the Mississippi, do you think?

Dr. DIXON. It is the result of a less careful analyses of the situation, and a less diligent search for reliable data.

Mr. OLNEY. If Congressman McKenzie should introduce his bill freeing the Indians, it would have a generally healthy effect.

Dr. DIXON. In giving all the Indians citizenship?

Mr. GREENE. Yes.

Mr. OLNEY. Yes.

Dr. DIXON. Well, if he would introduce it and it would go through and would not operate the way the Indian Commissioner's system has operated. The Indian Commissioner has appointed a competency commission, and that competency commission—three of them in number—are supposed to visit a region that comprises a good section of the United States and find out how many of those Indians are competent to take care of their own affairs, and then they are reported to the Interior Department and are given citizenship. That has been done in two or three cases, but it would take 10,000 years to go over the tribes in that fashion; and you will see how inconsistent it is. There is sitting in this room an Indian by the name of Thomas L. Sloan, who is a brilliant attorney. He is an Indian. After he had been practicing in the courts of the city of Washington and the courts of Iowa and of Nebraska, being a member of the Omaha Tribe, he had to prove his competency here in this city before certain business transactions could be consummated. And that, moreover, was before the Indian Office. Am I not right, Mr. Sloan?

Mr. SLOAN. Largely so. The statement of fact is that I am nominally competent and have to be visited by the competency commission in the State of Nebraska.

Dr. DIXON. To show whether you are competent?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Sloan went after arguing a case before the United States Supreme Court, because he had not yet established his competency.

Mr. OLNEY. How many Indians enjoy competency?

Dr. DIXON. I am not able to give you accurate figures. You ask how many Indians enjoy citizenship? I do not think any of them enjoy it, but they have been accorded citizenship according to the laws of the State of Oklahoma, but it is a nominal thing. Why? They have a superintendent over the Five Civilized Tribes and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs transacts all of the business with reference to leases of oil wells. One of them wanted to get \$600,000

Liberty bonds, for the Osage Tribe is as rich as the Steel Trust, but their funds are down here in the vaults of the United States Treasury bearing 4 per cent interest, and they can not touch it, either principal or interest; and this Indian wanted to buy \$600,000 worth of Liberty bonds—put the emphasis on “Liberty”—and Secretary Lane came to the United States Senate and had a law passed that he, as the warden, as the guardian of that Indian, might draw a check on the United States Treasury for \$600,000 and buy Liberty bonds with it. And, I presume, if the truth is known, that Indian shouldered a musket and went to France, but he was not good enough to buy \$600,000 worth of Liberty bonds until Congress had given him the privilege. He is a citizen of the United States according to the laws of the State of Oklahoma.

So you see it does not make any difference what you say as to who is a citizen if he is an Indian.

Out there in Washington, where my friend Bishop lives, Indians are citizens and they vote—they vote for such good men as Mr. Miller and the rest of them; but citizenship is an artifice of speech; they are not citizens in the true sense of the word.

MR. GREENE. You have requested that a division be created in the Regular Army to be composed entirely of Indians?

DR. DIXON. To be composed exclusively of Indians.

I could detain you, Mr. Chairman, for hours with stories and recitals about Indian prowess in battle.

At Camp Devon, I found the Three hundred and fifty-eighth Infantry of the Ninetieth Division, who went out from Oklahoma and Texas 1,440 strong, the entire regiment being composed of Indians. They came back with 260 Indians in the regiment; the remainder sleep at Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel, Fismes, the Argonne Forest. I asked the personnel adjutant of the Third Battalion of the Three hundred and fifty-eighth Infantry, Capt. John N. Simpson:

If it were necessary to go back to France and fight, would you take any Indians with you?

His instant reply was:

I would not take anybody else. They are not afraid of hell itself. They were always able to find themselves. They had a fine sense of direction, and thus they could anticipate the direction of the enemy. If we had had more Indians, we would have killed more Germans. They did not believe in taking prisoners.

Maj. George Ross, transferred from the One hundred and eleventh Infantry to the One hundred and third Ammunition Train, told me that he took from Doylestown six Indians, and he vouches for the story that I am to tell you concerning Cain Ross, a Cherokee Indian, who had been in the Carlisle School and had gone to Doylestown to work on a farm.

“Chief Ross,” they called him, when placed on duty during the first day’s fighting, had explored every shell hole in his section of no man’s land, the location of every machine-gun nest and of every sniper. He displayed the instinctive skill of the Indian for scouting during the terrible night following the battle of Fismes, when the scout officer and patrol found themselves lost in a dark woods; they dared not go one way or another without first obtaining certain information as to their location for fear that they might walk directly into the German lines. They were discussing their problem in

whispers when a dark form, that of Ross, slipped quietly to the side of the scout officer, touched him on the arm, and with a great grunt started off, the officer and patrol following; within 15 minutes the party returned to the American lines.

But his greatest test came during the American advance beyond Fimes across the Vesle. A machine gun was holding up the advance with a most harassing fire. It was broad daylight, 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and the task of silencing the gun was left to the scout commander. The men selected were Pvt. Chief Ross and three others. The patrol disappeared into the underbrush, with the Indian leading, his Luger pistol ready, the pistol for which he had formed a great attachment, having captured it in a German trench, and two grenades bulging in his hip pocket. It was discovered that the machine-gun emplacement was in the high windows of a building some few yards from the American line. Two men were left in front to draw the fire from the nest, and Ross and the fourth man advanced, one from either side. It was Ross who got within range first. He crawled to within a few yards of the building, and he could see the muzzle of the machine-gun protruding through the window. An instant later a well-aimed grenade, hurled by the "Chief," burst inside the window, killing one of the two Germans and demolishing the gun. The surviving German ran to a back window and slipped to the ground at the rear where he could be protected by still other German machine guns farther in the rear. The Boche was cunning, but not nearly so cunning as the Cherokee. Ross found a way to the roof, swung himself catlike to the ridge, until he had a commanding view of the fleeing German; a shot from his Luger pistol finished all that was to be done. [Displaying picture.]

The CHAIRMAN. He has a distinguished service cross?

Dr. DIXON. Yes; and a lot of them had it, and a host of others should have had it who did not get it; and I want you men to give it to the rest of them now.

In the Walter Reed Hospital, Washington, where I found an Indian with a leg off, and still another with an arm off, I met Sergt. John Northrup, of the Machine Gun Company, One hundred and twenty-fifth Infantry, Thirty-second Division, whose home is at Flint, Mich. He said that on the 1st of August, at the battle of Orcuq, they were commanded to take Hill 212. They took the hill. The Third Battalion of the One hundred and twenty-sixth Infantry attacked the Germans on the hill and drove them back, but lost all of their noncommissioned officers and every commissioned officer. The fire was so strenuous that they had to fall back. In this battle Sergt. Northrup had his left leg, very close to the hip, shot off by a high-explosive shell, as though it had been cut with a saw. He had received first aid, and was lying on the stretcher ready to be carried back. He had, he told me, an Indian in his company who had been sent out with a white man on patrol duty. He saw this Indian, as he was lying there, crawling in on his hands and knees through the lines under a heavy German machine-gun barrage. The Indian was bearing on his back the wounded fellow scout, badly wounded, and as the Indian passed his stretcher he saw that both of the Indian's feet had been shot off. We do not hear that this Indian ever received a distinguished service cross for his valor. Is it not time now for the Nation to give the race a distinguished service cross?



Maj. Tom Reilley, "Fighting Tom," as he is called, commanded the Third Battalion of the One hundred and sixty-fifth New York, the old Sixty-ninth of New York, the fighting Irish regiment, with 54 silver rings on its flagstaff, bearing names of engagements. Maj. Reilley is a soldier of renown. He had four years in the New York National Guard and did service on the Texas border. Maj. Reilley told me that at Chateau-Thierry, where he was wounded, that he lost a third of his men and was sent replacements from a Texas regiment, 100 Indians—50 to the Second Battalion and 50 to his own battalion, the Third. He declared that they were well-trained units, the best and safest replacements that he had had in any time. They were all fine shots and thoroughly dependable. Maj. Reilley stated that he took 20 of the best of them and added them to the Intelligence Department. He stated that:

The Indians did the finest work of any men in the regiment and, mark you, this is the old fighting Irish regiment. They were expert in rifle fighting, game, strong, brave, resolute. They were superior in scouting and patrol work. They were unexcelled in every phase of every fight.

In the drives at the Argonne, the Meuse, St. Gorges, Laudres, I started out with 876 men; came back with only 400. The Indians in the front ranks were thoroughly swept away. When an Indian went down, another Indian stepped immediately to the front. They were always at the front. If a battle was on, and you wanted to find the Indians, you would always find them at the front.

There were 16 different dialects in my battalion, which means that there were 16 tribes represented in 50 men. We had a captain, Gus Welsh, an Indian, a tremendous fighting and disciplinary force. Also a Capt. Gardner, in the Thirty-second Division.

I have no hesitancy in recommending any one of my Indians for a first sergeantcy, or even a captaincy; all of them splendid fellows, keen fighters, crack shots with the rifle, filled with the spirit of splendid daring and intrepid valor.

I had replacements on eight different occasions, so thorough was the decimation of my ranks, and these Indians were unqualifiedly the very best replacements sent to me. Many of them were killed or wounded, for they always sought the dangerous places. I hold all of these Indians in the most enthusiastic regard.

I advocate the segregation of Indian troops, for I noted that when they were sent out as a distinct Indian force they did their best work.

We were brigaded under the great French general, Gouraud, in the Champagne drive. He noted and commented on the superb work of these Indians.

I wrote to Gen. Gouraud and asked him for his testimony concerning the Indians under his command. I have his letter here, translated from the French (reading):

ON BOARD THE "WALDECK,"

*Rosseau, November 17, 1919.*

MONSIEUR: It is very agreeable for me to give you my testimony on the subject of the Indians who fought in the Great War. Many companies of Indians were, it is true, in the American divisions, the Second, the Thirty-sixth, and the Forty-second, which were under my command in Champagne during the battles of July, September, October, and November, 1918. The Indian soldiers fought bravely and gave remarkable proofs of the quality of suppleness and great aptitude to profit by the nature of the battle field.

Please accept, monsieur, the expression of my distinguished sentiments.

GOURAUD.

The testimony of Gen. Gouraud confirms what Maj. Reilley has said, and of necessity confirms all that he has said.

When the world-renowned Forty-second Division paraded the highway that has been called "The Highway of the Allies," that wonderful Fifth Avenue of the metropolis of America, the populace went wild in its enthusiastic acclaim of the heroes and heroism of those men. And the glad plaudits of the people resounded through all the adjacent highways of that mighty city in salutation of the

One hundred and sixty-fifth Regiment, the old fighting Sixty-ninth, the heroic Irish regiment. Just here there is to be announced a story of wonder and achievement.

The Stokes mortar platoon, composed of five Indians, four Pawnee Indians and one Choctaw Indian, from Oklahoma, carried their achievement to the farthest verge of heroism in the Argonne Forest. The names of those men must be written high on the roster of American achievement at arms. James Wynashe, Walter Keyes, Jacob Leader, Frank Young Eagle, Harry Richards. Richards was wounded in the arm in the Battle of the Argonne. The story is best told by Sergt. Thomas E. Fitzsimmons, commanding the Stokes mortar platoon, headquarters company, One hundred and sixty-fifth Infantry, Forty-second Division. [Reading:]

Five Indians came to us as replacements from the Thirty-sixth Division. They volunteered to join us, as the Thirty-sixth had not been in action and they were anxious to get into the fight. They came to us while we were stationed at Goncourt front. After we had taken the Ourcq River position, near Chateau Thierry, we went into the fight at St. Mihiel. The Indians were good soldiers, back of the lines and at the front, always clean and neat and willing workers. At the St. Mihiel drive they were very much disappointed because they did not have personal contact with the Boche. This operation was very difficult for the trench mortars, the guns having to be carried on the shoulders of the men 25 or 30 kilometers. The barrel of the gun weighs 48 pounds, the elevating stand 32 pounds, the base plate 29 pounds; in addition, they had to carry ammunition, each shell weighing 11 pounds (exactly 10 pounds 11 ounces). The Indians bore up well on the long hike and the strain, and were always on the job.

We next went into the Argonne offensive, the first real fight that they were in. They stood like stone walls under machine-gun and artillery fire, always obeyed without any questioning. I found them good in seeking the trail in the woods at night. I always took one with me and he always kept the trail. The Indian was very resourceful, would seek cover, always seeking good places for shelter. All of them were expert rifle shots.

As to personal habits, I always found them gentlemen, accepting hardships and sacrifices without flinching. Moreover, they were always proud that they volunteered to serve America. During this Argonne offensive, the One hundred and sixty-fifth had driven back the Germans, and they were reforming for a counter attack in massed formation with fixed bayonets. Col. Donovan, commanding the regiment, ordered the Stokes mortar platoon into action. The Boche were only 200 yards away in an open field, in broad daylight. With the mortar every man has to stand up. The Boche retreated to the trenches, and the artillery opened up. Then the infantry in massed formation with fixed bayonets came on for a counter attack. Col. Donovan ordered the Indians to place the Stokes mortar guns in position, and getting the range after the first shell was fired (you will recall that there are eight of these shells in the air before the first one lands), it was said by those who witnessed it that all you could see was machine guns, helmets, arms, and legs flying in the air. The Boche were completely routed, and this was the last line of resistance the Germans had to fall back upon.

For this achievement Sergt. Fitzsimmons won his distinguished service cross, and after the battle Col. Donovan called the members of the Stokes mortar platoon before his headquarters and commended the crew for its work. He said that they had saved the regiment.

Mr. Chairman, the One hundred and sixty-fifth was distinctively a New York regiment; New York went wild in its praise of the work of this regiment. The city of New York was sold by the Indians to the Dutch traders for \$24.37, and to-day it is worth over fifteen billions of dollars. Let me remind this honorable body that they were compelled to call the Indian from the far plains of the West to help save the famous regiment of New York, and thus save New York.

Let me give you an example of what the Indian thinks himself. In the Grand Central Palace Hospital, Debarkation Hospital No. 5, Col. William Gibson commanding, I met John Whirlwind Horse, 27 years old, an Oglala Sioux, from the Pine Ridge Agency, S. Dak., post office, Allen, S. Dak. Whirlwind Horse was drafted in May, 1918, Company B, One hundred and sixtieth Infantry, Fortieth Division. He was wounded in the Argonne Forest; the bullet smashing through his shoulder, a piece of shrapnel severing his arm above the elbow, and another wound in the hip. He said to me:

I was fighting as hard as I could fight; I knew they would get me unless I got them, and so I was shooting away all the time. Five men were killed right at my side. We were on the hill under an enfilade fire; the company at our left for some reason did not come up, and we were commanded to hold the hill, and we held it. It was in this enfilade fire that I was wounded. There were 11 Sioux in Company B, One hundred and sixty-fifth Infantry.

This young Indian is tall and stately, keen of eye, alert, able to analyze. His father fought with the Sioux against Custer. He is a splendid specimen of Indian manhood, and a splendid specimen of Indian patriotism. When I asked Whirlwind Horse how it was that he came to go into the fight he said [showing photograph of Whirlwind Horse]:

I was told that I was a ward of the Government; that I had no rights; and that I must go and fight. I said: "All right, if I have no rights, this country must have its rights, and I will go and fight for the rights of a country that won't give me my rights."

Ben Franklin never said anything better than that.

Rhetoric is weak and words are a profanation when one comes to describe the story of the lost battalion, in command of Maj. Whittlesey, later Col. Whittlesey, or better still, when he threw back the challenge to the Germans, "Go to hell—Whittlesey." The men who were there, a group of whom I interviewed in Camp Mills, must tell the tale themselves.

Three men divided a candle 6 inches long, 2 inches for each man. Two hundred and fifty yards away there were 9,000 rations, but between them and the rations stood the Germans. One man said:

The loneliest spot God ever let the devil make, and then went off and forgot it, was the pocket containing the lost battalion.

The story continues:

Another day and we would have been lost. The horror that filled us was the report of a lieutenant, a German, that the next they were to use liquid fire.

Strange as it may seem, the leading spirit of heroism and the inspirer of courage was Robert Dodd, aged 26, a Piute Indian, from Nevada. All the group of soldiers in this Company H said that Dodd stuck to it with a grin on his face. He had a big German holder in which he would crowd handfuls of dry leaves, and would smoke, and fire his gun, the smoke furnishing a screen so that the men around him could not be seen by the German snipers. Dodd was wounded on the second day in the hole. He kept up his courage as well as the courage of the men. He was hit by shrapnel above the ankle and again in the shoulder. He had no medical help; he could not get up to the first-aid kit. Dodd was on the side where the pocket was saved, the left flank. He kept on shooting, and getting madder as he shot, and shooting still until the gun got too hot to shoot. Dodd and the other men who were in Company H told me that they

were in the pocket six days, going in on October 2 and coming out October 8 (reading):

We were surrounded all the time; the Germans yelling at us to surrender, and every-time they came up we opened up with our guns. We ate dried leaves and grass, and we had no water for four days. Always shell fire, always hand grenades, always trench mortars, always whiz-bangs, always barrage. We buried 107 men in one grave.

Is it not strange and wierdly wonderful that in the midst of this desolation and carnage, there should spring up a North American Indian to give color and courage to the tragic scene?

There is Dodd in the center of the picture [exhibiting picture to members of the committee].

I must refer briefly to another hero of the Forty-second Division, Sergt. John Victor Adams—you were talking about these men enlisting and volunteering—22 years old, a Siletz Indian from Oregon. He entered the fight as a corporal and came out a sergeant. Adams left the high school to enlist. This young fellow said:

I wanted to get into the fight that I might help the country to win out. I have a brother on one of the battleships. I was in all of the engagements in which the Forty-second Division took part, the One hundred and sixty-eighth Infantry having the banner record of the division. I was wounded at Chateau-Thierry in the leg and in the eye. I was also gassed. I got back for the St. Mihiel drive, went on through. I felt the best of our boys were getting killed, and I wanted to put my life up against theirs. I felt that no American could be or should be better than the first American. Therefore, I did not linger in the hospital.

This, gentlemen of the committee, is something of the spirit of the Indian who fought on the western front. In going over my notes recounting the interviews with the Indians found in camps and hospitals, and in the interviews with officers who had Indians under their command, I find it as fascinating as a painted dream. But I must hurry on with two or three more striking incidents.

I found in Camp Merritt an Indian by the name of Ewing Peters, from California, whose picture I now show you. [Presenting photograph to members of the committee.] He was made personal guide of Col. H. Ladd Cavanaugh, of Bellevue, Ohio, a great disciplinarian, a West Point man, and a stalwart fighter. While others were hurrying to shelter, and while shells were bursting all around, Col. Cavanaugh stood upright, guiding his men. Peters was attached to the Headquarters Company. On account of his bravery and ability he won his Distinguished Service Cross. He would crawl up and get behind a machine-gun nest, kill all the crew or bring them back as prisoners. Peters seldom brought back prisoners but he brought back souvenirs. Unaided and alone he cleaned out five machine-gun nests in the Argonne-Meuse, and sniped twelve Germans in one day. He was always up and going, aggressive, willing, and was finally put on the regimental rifle team, so expert was he with the gun. He was quick in his discovery of the Boche and the machine-gun.

And now let me tell you about Corbett White, an Otoe Indian from Red Rock, Okla., whom I photographed in the hospital at Camp Merritt. He belonged to the Evacuation Ambulance Corps, No. 24, and was wounded in the back while carrying back the wounded soldiers to the hospital. He told me a thrilling story of his introduction to the Army. Reference has already been made to Mr. Rodman Wanamaker's expedition of citizenship to the North American Indian, but it was my privilege to take the flag, which the Indian had raised

at Fort Wadsworth at the opening of the national Indian memorial by President Taft and 32 Indian chiefs, to every tribe, also presenting on behalf of Mr. Wanamaker a flag to each tribe. To this I have already made reference, Corbett White said that when the war broke out, two old warriors who had become the custodians of the flag presented to them by Mr. Wanamaker, brought out the flag, and on the same flagstaff hoisted it to the breeze, and then called all of the young men of the tribe under its flaring folds, and said to them:

We are old, we can not go to France and fight; but when we accepted this flag we pledged ourselves to be loyal to it, and now we want you young men to go to France and fight for our country.

Following the instructions and the pleading of these old warriors, both of whom died while the men were away in France, all the young men of the tribe rallied to the support of the Stars and Stripes, although many of them left wives and children as dependents.

Mr. Chairman, I could go on relating instances of Indian valor and Indian achievement at arms until I filled many issues of the Congressional Record. One striking bit of evidence I must place before you. I photographed in Camp Merritt the Choctaw telephone squad, together with Capt. Horner, who organized this telephone squad, and recently I have had an interview with Lieut. Col. William J. Morrissey, who was in command of the Second Battalion, One hundred and forty-second Infantry, Thirty-sixth Division. Let me tell you what Col. Morrissey says of the Indian.

In his battalion was one company commonly known as the "Indian company." This company was comprised of many different tribes of Indians, and included many very intelligent Indians, graduates of both Carlisle and Haskell Schools.

Col. Morrissey says:

I was in a position to closely observe the Indians during all the fighting, and found them absolutely fearless and loyal in every respect. Their ability as fighters is beyond a question of doubt. In addition to their fighting ability, they were extremely valuable as scouts and runners, which was probably due to their ability to find direction under any circumstances, both in the daytime and at night. They never complained about lack of food or any other of the hardships that were necessarily incident to battle conditions.

While I commanded Company E there were Indians in every other company in the regiment. The same commendation applies to all the Indians in the regiment. As to his initiative in battle, I have this to say, he absolutely set out to lick Germany alone.

Many of my Indians were decorated. An Indian stood up with me and received the Belgian decoration, the *croix de guerre*, when I was decorated with the French *croix de guerre*.

My company of Indians were in the assault battalion, Meuse-Argonne, Champagne, and received the heartiest commendation of our divisional commander, Col. Alfred W. Bloor. All officers have the very highest regard for the fighting qualities of the Indians. The battalion was almost completely wiped out, and the Indian company suffered equal casualties with the remainder of the battalion.

Let me refer again to Capt. Horner (Company E, One hundred and forty-second Regiment, Thirty-sixth Division). He said to me in Camp Merritt:

The Indian was always the equal of the white man, sometimes his superior, and half of my company were Indians. There was not a straggler among them. Officers say that at supply stations and dressing stations there may always be found a group of stragglers, but they all said they never saw an Indian among the stragglers. When wounded, they were absolutely stoical and would bear it with unflinching nerve and never express a moan.

In censoring their mail I got a glimpse of their inside life. They would write home: "George Good Eagle is no more. Like a good American, he has gone on."

One of the Indians in my company would ask to go alone on a scouting expedition. He was asked why. He replied: "Because the white boys get scared and give me away. If I go alone I can get the information. They make a noise."

And now let me refer to the telephone exploit of the Choctaws under Lieut. Col. Morrissey and Capt. Horner. There were six of them. It was on the 8th of October. They were in front of St. Etienne, the Champagne front, working in conjunction with the Fourth French Army. They knew that the Germans had a superior listening-in system, and were finding out the entire movements of the American and French troops. Therefore the commander ordered over the telephone a movement of troops at a certain spot at 8 o'clock that night, which of course was a false command. At precisely 8 o'clock that night, the Germans put down a terrific barrage on the exact spot. It was then that Col. Morrissey and Capt. Horner conceived the idea of using the Indian in his own dialect, and therefore they placed six Indians at the end of the telephone wire, three at headquarters and three on the firing line, and the messages were transmitted in the Choctaw dialect, which proved to be very effective during the short time that it was used. One can imagine that this barbed wire conversation was a barrage that nonplussed the puzzled Germans. There were, of course, difficulties in using Choctaw, as there are no words in the Choctaw tongue for many military technical expressions, so that it became necessary to make a table of substitutions.

For instance, we called regiment "The tribe," First Battalion, "One grain corn," company, "Bow," platoon, "Thong," machine gun, "Little-gun-shoot-fast," artillery, "Big gun," ammunition, "Arrows," grenades, "Stones," rations, "Food," attack, "Fight," patrol, "Many scouts," casualties, "Scalps," gas, "Bad air" (just what it is).

Col. Morrissey states:

We found that the Germans knew absolutely nothing about our preparations, and were taken completely by surprise. This was the first time that we surprised the Germans during our stay in the lines, and I attribute it in many respects to the fact that the Choctaw language was used in making preparations for this attack.

And thus it comes about again that the Indian was needed to out-with the Hun. Col. Morrissey was asked if he had to fight the war over again, and he had command of a regiment, if he would like to have any Indians in it. He made the reply: "I would make every effort to fill my regiment with Indians."

The question was also asked: "Do you think that the Indian has in him the capabilities of becoming an officer?" The colonel replied:

I know of men who are Indians who made very efficient officers; there is no question about it in my mind. Altogether the Indian possessed sterling qualities as a soldier. It is only just now to give him the privilege of citizenship.

I can not refrain from recurring again to a very striking statement made by Capt. Horner. At the battle of the Meuse-Ourcq-Argonne, October 6 to 29, the Marines had been in the forefront of the fight, and they were relieved. None of the Thirty-sixth Division had ever been on the firing line before. They were now to be ushered into the hardest fighting of the war. Being fresh troops, the Marines remained in support to watch the fresh troops as they entered the

engagement. The Marines never got through talking about the Indians in Company E, so gallantly did they demean themselves. It means, all of it, gentlemen, that the Indian was at the very fore of all of the saving achievements of these great battles.

Mr. Chairman, you have heard the testimony of Maj. Tom Reilley concerning the ability of the Indian as a fighter, and his unqualified approval of his ability to become an officer and his advocacy of the segregation of Indian troops; you have heard the testimony of Col. Donavan, of the famous One hundred and sixty-fifth New York, when he said that the Stokes' mortar platoon had saved the regiment; you have heard the testimony of Capt. John N. Simpson, the commander of the third battalion of the Three hundred and fifty-eighth Infantry, wholly an Indian regiment, how, if he had to go back again to fight in France he would take none but Indians with him; you have heard the testimony of Lieut. Col. Wm. J. Morrissey concerning the ability and achievement of the Indian in the One hundred and forty-second Infantry, Thirty-sixth Division, and how if he had it to do over again he would fill his regiment with Indians. In addition, you have now the testimony of Col. F. A. Snyder, commanding the One hundred and third Engineers, Twenty-eighth Division. He said to the speaker at Camp Dix:

If I had only been in command of a few regiments of Indians, we could have driven the Boche out of the Argonne Forest very much sooner and with less loss of life.

You have again the testimony of Maj. Frank Knox, editor of the Manchester Union Leader, Manchester, N. H., who wrote me under date of April 16, 1919:

From August 18 until October 4 the brigade of which I was field officer supported the Ninetieth Division from Texas and Oklahoma on St. Mihiel front. This included the preparation for the big drive, which eliminated St. Mihiel salient; the drive itself; the action of September 26 to 28, and the subsequent steady hammering on this front up to the date indicated, October 4, when our brigade was transferred to the Argonne. In the Ninetieth Division were many Indians from Oklahoma. They made a splendid record for bravery and resoluteness under fire. Personally, I shall always regret that the War Department refused the Indian his chance—a chance given so freely to the black man. If I could have had the proposed regiment of Indian cavalry in the drive to the Meuse, the orderly retreat of the Germans would easily have been forced into a rout. It was lack of cavalry that permitted their orderly withdrawal.

In the Navy that so proudly sailed the seas and carried protecting power over all the troubled waves infested by the murderous submarine, I found when the majestic fleet had anchored in the Hudson—a giant brood of more than 100 fighting craft—that almost every ship numbered several Indians among its fighting force.

Mr. JAMES. Are any of these men you are speaking about now citizens, except nominally?

Dr. DIXON. No, sir; they were not citizens.

Mr. JAMES. Not even the men who were cited for bravery?

Dr. DIXON. No; citations or no citations, they were not citizens.

The battleship *Utah*, Capt. H. H. Hough commanding, contained a Cree Indian who was serving as a marine, and a Chippewa Indian, William Leon Wolfe [exhibiting photograph to committee], who was not only the champion lightweight of the entire fleet in British waters, but also the master of the massive 12-inch gun on the forward deck of the *Utah*. You tell me that the Indian was good enough to manipulate this monster gun with which to smash the Boche, but he is not

good enough to challenge the world at the ballot box. Of Wolfe the captain of the *Utah* said:

I know but little of the individual cases in the 1,200 men on board the *Utah*, but the Indian, Wolfe, has forced his character upon my attention by his stalwart service and ability.

Mr. JAMES. If these men go into the Army, they would become citizens, would they not?

Dr. DIXON. They would if you make them so, but they were not citizens when they went into this Army.

Mr. JAMES. The reason I ask that is this: We have a bill before this committee by which agents who can not read, write, or understand the English language come over here and join the Army and get a vocational education, and after being in the Army several years we will make citizens of them, and I thought we should be willing to do as much for these Indians as for these aliens.

Dr. DIXON. The Indians were here when the white man came, and they can soon learn to talk English if they are given the chance. The young man in khaki sitting back of you could not speak a word of English when he was enlisted; he can now talk English as well as I can.

Mr. McKENZIE. I think you misunderstood the question.

Dr. DIXON. I am sorry.

Mr. McKENZIE. We have a bill pending before our committee by which we give aliens citizenship papers and give them vocational education.

The CHAIRMAN. Allowing them to enlist in the Army?

Mr. McKENZIE. Allowing them to enlist in the Army. It seemed to me unfair to allow these aliens to enlist in our Army and then to become citizens by being in the Army several years, and yet not give the same privilege to Indians who were born here.

Dr. DIXON. Your statement is exactly just, and "justice" is the whitest word in our speech. I only hope that you will make it shine with practical action.

Mr. McKENZIE. Every one of these 17,000 can become citizens, can they not?

Dr. DIXON. They can if you pass this measure and make them so.

Mr. McKENZIE. There is a provision in Army legislation by which men who join the Army could become citizens.

Dr. DIXON. But has that bill passed?

Mr. McKENZIE. That was part of the Army bill.

The CHAIRMAN. It is legislation now on the statute books. If you will remember, right here in the city of Washington some months ago one of our judges made citizens of quite a large number of men who had been in the Army and who, up to that time, had been aliens and who had not lived in this country the necessary five years to become citizens.

Mr. GREENE. Indians are not classed as aliens.

Mr. McKENZIE. No.

Dr. DIXON. That is why they were not admitted under the law.

Mr. McKENZIE. I have forgotten whether that legislation carries the word "Indian." Unless it does carry the word "Indian" it would not make them citizens.



Dr. DIXON. It does not carry the word "Indian," and I also think Mr. Chairman, that the bill providing for Indian citizenship on account of service in the war contains the clause "if desired."

The CHAIRMAN. In what connection—they can be made citizens "if desired"?

Dr. DIXON. If they so desire.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Dr. DIXON. By themselves, if they so desire.

The CHAIRMAN. If they so desire. Are there any who so desire?

Dr. DIXON. There are a good many of them, but perhaps some would not so desire, because of environment and because of fear that the white man would take advantage of them again, because of an overbearing sense of oppression that might come upon them. They should be declared citizens of the United States, and then let them sink or swim—they will swim.

Mr. MILLER. Suppose you declare him a citizen, and it turns out he does not want it?

Dr. DIXON. He would have to take it, just as you would have to take prohibition, whether you wanted it or not.

Mr. MILLER. That is a little different.

Dr. DIXON. I do not mean to make any inferences, Mr. Congressman, that you did not want it, but it was an illustration that popped into my mind, because I did not want it myself in the manner in which it was foisted upon the people.

Mr. GREENE. You said, as I understood it, at least the inference was that if this law simply allowed the Indian to determine whether he might be a citizen or not, in personal instances he might object to becoming a citizen for reasons you have stated. Notwithstanding that individual objection any Indians might have, you are perfectly willing that they should be declared citizens en bloc, despite those same objections?

Dr. DIXON. Very true; but the fact is that most of them would become citizens, and those who would not would fail to do so at their own loss, whereas they would be educated into it.

Mr. WISE. What would you do with their property?

Dr. DIXON. I would make their property their tribal rights and all of the funds accruing to them absolutely inalienable.

Mr. WISE. Why not just turn it over to them if they are qualified to be citizens, even if they are declared citizens against their will, to dispose of as they saw proper. A man who is qualified to be a citizen is qualified to take care of his own property, and you say you are in favor of just declaring them citizens en bloc whether they wanted it or not.

Dr. DIXON. There is so much of their property handled by the white man and so much of their property that the white man is eager to handle that they do not want that kind of procedure. Their property and property rights must be protected from the rapacity of the white man. Besides, is it not a fallacy to argue that citizenship carries with it a qualification to care for property? You do not so apply it to the alien.

Mr. MILLER. They would handle it themselves?

Dr. DIXON. I would have them handle it themselves, freely and fully, but with proper safeguards against the wiles of the grafter.

Mr. MILLER. That was the point I was undertaking to inquire of you. Some of these Indians do not want citizenship. Would it be exactly moral to say, "You shall have it whether you want it or not," and force upon that Indian the individual control of his own property where perhaps he does not want it?

Mr. McKENZIE (interposing). May I inject something that will probably answer both questions at the same time? Of course, what Mr. Miller has in mind, and what you all have in mind in thinking of matters of this character, is that the property right of the Indians now held in trust by the Government controlling the allotments and interests and the funds on deposit, and all that sort of thing, it does seem to me that they could be given the rights of citizenship, but coupled therewith such legislation as will guard and protect the trust interests now held by the Government for the benefit of the Indians; and the reason for that, to my mind, is that up to this time the Government has assumed the rôle of guardian and big brother to the Indian and has not permitted him to exercise his own rights, and, therefore, in a sense, he has become and is a dependent to a certain extent. If we should give them all citizenship it does seem to me we ought to include in that act a saving clause that would guard their property against sharks and skimmers who will immediately undertake to take advantage of them until such time as they have had opportunity to develop and educate their people along the lines of self-protection.

Dr. DIXON. I most heartily agree with that idea. Mr. McKenzie has clearly stated my full contention. It is the only just way to proceed.

Mr. MILLER. That is the idea I had in mind.

Dr. DIXON. So we all agree. I would advocate the enactment, provided the Government does not exercise the right of stewardship over their property.

Mr. McKENZIE. I understand what you mean.

Mr. WISE. Doctor, I confess that it strikes me whenever a citizen of the country is entitled to exercise all the duties of citizenship, as well as all the privileges of citizenship—you say in your argument that these people would not want it or are not qualified to make a contract with respect to their private affairs—what do you think about their exercising all the tasks and duties of citizenship, being subject to compulsion to fight and do anything else any other citizen could, and yet it seems you would reserve their property and let the Government handle it?

Dr. DIXON. I challenge your statement, Mr. Wise; I do not argue that the Indian is not qualified to make a contract with respect to his private affairs. I do charge that they have not had the opportunity for the proposed exercise of economic affairs, and thus may be full of temerity, and I do charge that no race of people in the history of the world has ever been subject to such onslaughts upon their property rights as the Indian. I would not have the Government handle it. I do not want the Government to handle it. I want the Government to put safeguards around it so that the Indian will be entirely guarded in all of his interests against the villainous rapacity of the white man.

Mr. MILLER. Who would you have supervise it?

Mr. WISE. That is what I want to get at.

Mr. MILLER. If you do not want the Government—I am just asking for information—there may be a certain class of these men who would want these rights of citizenship and want to come into property rights, and you and I might know morally they would not be competent to take care of it; yet there is another class who have property but do not want to take care of it, as you suggest. Who would you have take care of it, if the Government did not?

Dr. DIXON. If such a thing were possible under the sun, I would have a nonpartisan commission do it. The land question is at the bottom of all the nefarious trickery and skinning operations practiced by the white man on the Indian. I would give the Indian his rights, all of his rights, then protect him by safeguarding laws, then let the Government supervise the law but not the property. The commission referred to would execute the law.

Mr. GREENE. May I ask a question, Doctor? How are you going to substantiate an argument in favor of any man being able to exercise the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and vote this country into any kind of economic policy that it may turn out the majority of those votes favor, and at the same time be so incompetent to manage his own private affairs that you put him under wardship to that extent?

Dr. DIXON. I object to the word "wardship." It is a sin, a curse, and a shame.

Mr. GREENE. I am talking about this proposition.

Dr. DIXON. I understand; but the proposition is not that he is not competent to do it, but that the extortion and long-time schooling of the men who have sought to rob him of what belongs to him is more cunning than his cunning, and the Indian is afraid of it. The alien, made a citizen, can do the very thing you charge upon the Indian.

Mr. GREENE. The point is right there: You see other citizens who apply and receive the citizenship, not being born to it, by that fact being held responsible for their share in the participation in the Government, are also held responsible for the administration of their own private economies. We can not divorce them very well, as far as I can see.

Dr. DIXON. I am not seeking, Mr. Greene, to place the Indian under any cover whatsoever that would allow him to evade any scintilla of responsibility, personal, social, or political, but I think we must all of us recognize—and when we do recognize we will cease parleying and comparing—that there is no race of people on the face of God's globe that once possessed such a patrimony as the North American Indian, and then, who for centuries have been subjected to such a persistent, villainous, and systematic campaign of pillage. The alien whom you readily admit to citizenship has never had this patrimony—the Indian once had it—now has a part of it, and you prevent him from citizenship because it is urged that the part he now has shall be safeguarded. The Indian never has had a chance to study economics, the paucity of his understanding is a part of his persecution. I do not argue that he is not competent to exercise his personal rights. I do not argue that he is not competent to exercise his political rights. I do not argue that he is not competent to enter the economic arena. But I do argue that so long as the white man holds sway and can in any least infinitesimal way advance a claim

that the interests of the Indian will be placed in jeopardy; and, therefore, let us get away from all other misconceptions and center upon the one idea of robbery and protection from robbery.

Mr. GREENE. How about the training he ought to have before he votes you and I into some economic situation, to safeguard us against his misapplied vote. That is why I am shy of the program you suggest.

Dr. DIXON. Then you would be shy, Mr. Greene, of 17,000 men who, even though they were not citizens, braved the shellfire and the hell-fire of the Hun to protect an economic framework that you fear they would vote to destroy. You do not sense this fear with reference to the alien or the immigrant. Further, the whole question is taken care of through the educational program provided by the provisions advocated later on in this argument.

Mr. GREENE. I am not intimating that our friend the Indian is going to be disloyal at all; I am not impugning his moral character and trustworthiness.

Dr. DIXON. I think I understand your question: How are we going to protect ourselves against his failure to understand the economic principles of the Government under which we live?

Mr. GREENE. The point is that if he is not, by his own admission, willing to manage his own affairs, notwithstanding we might be willing to give him full charge—and I do not know why he does not have it myself—if he is not willing to take that responsibility, how just is it to other people then who are not insured in their private funds to have the Indian vote whatever government he may upon them?

Dr. DIXON. I presume almost all of them would be willing to take the oath of citizenship if they were assured that the white man would break no more treaties with them. But when you come to consider that every treaty that the white man has made, since that of William Penn, with the Indians has been broken, and that the Indian has kept everyone of his treaties, then you will understand his conscious fear, his innate dread, his not-surprising superstition that something will happen to him. We are speaking now, Mr. Congressman, of exceptional cases. I think that the ordinary run of Indians would welcome citizenship and be glad to jump into the stream and swim with his white brother.

Mr. MILLER. That is all right; that answers it. And 99 out of 100 would do it?

Dr. DIXON. Yes, sir; how is that, Mr. Bishop, would they not do it?

(Thomas G. Bishop, a Snohomish Indian, present.)

Mr. BISHOP. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE. I am asking the question to find out. But I have had the impression that all the years since the old troubles had passed along that there had developed in the Indian families strong, sturdy responsible men. I never understood why they were not admitted to citizenship. That is not what is troubling me now at all. But I do not quite see how you could admit any man to citizenship and at the same time put his property under wardship, because if he is capable of disposing of public business he ought to be capable of administering his own private affairs.

Mr. McKENZIE. That very same point has been passed upon by our courts, and it has been held not incompatible with citizenship for the Government to exercise the right of supervision over his property.

Mr. MILLER. That is true, but if a man is admitted to the rights of citizenship, he is presumably competent to take care of his own affairs. It occurs to me that the 90 and 9 of those men, as Dr. Dixon says, would not only gladly take citizenship, but eagerly assume charge of their own private affairs. There may be now and then an exception.

Mr. WISE. What would be the reason, Doctor, for your favoring a commission of individuals to take charge of this property and supervise it rather than having the Government do so?

Dr. DIXON. The President would appoint this nonpartisan commission as he appoints the Board of Indian Commissioners, and my idea would be to get it out of the old-time grooves that have been prosecuting and persecuting the Indian for all these years.

Mr. WISE. If the Government appointed that commission and had charge of that it would really be under Government supervision.

Dr. DIXON. Only so far as any officer of the Government is appointed to administer its laws.

Mr. WISE. I understood you to say you favored an outside commission and taking it out of the hands of the Government altogether?

Dr. DIXON. Let me say again, a nonpartisan commission, and this would take it out of the Indian administration.

Mr. MILLER. Most anything would be better than what we have now?

Dr. DIXON. Profoundly so.

Mr. MILLER. And the Indian would be willing to take his chances?

Dr. DIXON. Just exactly. The Indian could not be worse off than he is now.

Mr. GREENE. Would it come down to this, in view of Mr. Miller's statement, that almost all the Indians are now ready for the unqualified exercise of citizenship, both as to voting on public affairs and the administration of their own matters, and if we would have, on hand only a few who dreaded to make the venture individually, here and there, and not in groups of any considerable number?

Dr. DIXON. That is true.

Mr. GREENE. That would be about the status of it?

Dr. DIXON. That would be the status of it.

Mr. GREENE. So that all the Government would be called upon to do would be to administer the affairs of those few who did not want to come in.

Mr. MILLER. Administer the affairs of the few as distinguished from the ninety and nine.

Mr. GREENE. Then, that few ought not to have the right of citizenship until the time would come when they are willing to take both the right of citizenship and the administration of their own affairs? That would seem to be the logical conclusion of it, for it is difficult for me to see—I do not want to hold back the men who are willing to do both—how you are to admit them to qualified citizenship.

Dr. DIXON. What are you going to do with the aliens who come here, many of whom ought to be put up against a stone wall instead of deported? Why hang the destiny of a race on an assumed non-qualification of a mere segment of that race?

Mr. GREENE. When any Indian admitted to citizenship administers his own affairs as well as votes, I do not see how you can have half responsibility in the matter. Take the Indians who are capable of citizenship and who want it, to which we say "All right; come in and vote, but you must come in and administer your own affairs the same as other citizens." Then, it seems to me you defeat your own argument by admitting that a man is competent to vote in the larger administrative matters but incompetent to administer his own affairs.

Dr. DIXON. Ah: But I have not said "incompetent to administer his own affairs," but that perhaps he feared to do it; and his fear is born of the fact that he has been illtreated for all these generations; it is inbred in him, it is in his bones and blood.

You have a little family, I hope. Suppose there were four little angel tots, and the third one of the four had gotten into a dark room and became frightened, and withdrew, and the other three put their arms around her and petted her and kissed the tears away, and finally mother came and took them all four into her heaven arms, and yet ever after that, perhaps for years, that little tot is afraid of that room. She did not know why, but she had seen a specter; something in there she did not like, which frightened her, that went down through her whole life.

Mr. GREENE. I am not scolding.

Dr. DIXON. You did not punish her on account of it; you did not wage any hostilities, many thousands of them against that little tot because she had that fear.

Mr. GREENE. Not while she was a little tot and still afraid of the dark, but when I have been married and have raised a family I assume responsibility for her.

Dr. DIXON. Precisely so; the Government has continuously exercised parental control and grafters have forever held before them the spectre of the dark room.

Mr. GREENE. These people, if they have reached the age when they are qualified to vote this country into war or out of it, or to take any of the great responsibilities which go with citizenship, individually, and collectively, then they should have reached an age when they are no longer afraid of the dark.

Dr. DIXON. Is it not incumbent upon us as patriotic citizens and intelligent men, in looking over the scope of great national affairs, as you men do, to say, "Here are 17,000 men, all of whom are not citizens of the United States in the true sense, many of whom are wards of the Government, who have risked their lives for a flag—not their flag—can we not give them anything and everything that belongs to them without a reservation?"

Mr. GREENE. I am not debating your main point at all; I am not debating whether or not individual Indians have not arrived at the point when they ought to be given full and free citizenship. I am only questioning whether you can give a man citizenship so qualified that he can vote the Nation into anything he wants, but not give him the right to manage his own affairs.

Dr. DIXON. There are not enough Indians in the category you describe to cause them to be a menace to our institutions, and I think you are giving too great prominence to that one feature.

Mr. GREENE. The numbers do not disturb the principle. There are not enough aliens entering our domain at one time to make much

difference to the country, but you keep on permitting their entry and you ultimately find yourself just where we are now. We who are born expectant to right of citizenship are not allowed to exercise it until we are held capable in the law to be competent of exercising the same right in respect of our own property.

Dr. DIXON. If you will just let me move on to that point, because I want to get that before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Dixon proceed.

Dr. DIXON. Let me mount the rungs of the ladder a little higher out of this "carnage grim," this god of war strides to another table-land of honor and sublimity.

The composite regiment of the First Division, called "Pershing's Own," contains seven North American Indians, representing the following tribes: Sioux, Sac, Fox, Mission, Choctaw, Chippewa, Cherokee, and Chickasaw. This regiment was drawn from six Army divisions, two companies from each division. They were selected for their appearance, their size, for their wound stripes and valor in battle.

One Indian came from the Third Division, three from the Fourth Division, one from the First Division, one from the Fifth Division, and one from the Sixth Division. They all wear wound stripes, they have all been cited, and wear the French regimental fourragere.

On the 14th of July these Indians shared the acclaim of Paris as the gallant heroes of the Old First, joined in the celebration of Bastille Day. They were led in this historic march by Gen. Pershing, their trusted commander.

In London where the world metropolis celebrated her Peace Day, with Gen. Pershing at their head, representatives of seven tribes received the salutes of King George IV.

And now, when the expeditionary forces crossed the seas for the homeland and the memorable Old First swept under the arch of victory in the greatest city of the New World, the victorious leader of the American Expeditionary Forces in France faced the unparalleled plaudits of an ovation unmatched in the annals of the Nation's welcome to her returning heroes. And as he rode on, the march of the composite regiment, "Pershing's Own," became the cynosure of millions of eyes.

Seven Indians tramped with the finely skilled host at arms. Seven Indians carried glistening bayonets in that September sunlight. Under battle-battered helmets peered the eyes of seven redskins, and the composite regiment was given by the people a medal of honor because out of five divisions, seven red men from the plains of the West had been chosen to keep step with the glittering and heroic host.

Last of all, at the Nation's capital, down the historic avenue where at the close of the greatest civil struggle then known to history, the veterans of the Republic marched in final review under the eye of Grant, the hero of Appomattox, on a mid-September day, soft with the crimsoning touch of autumn, this same exalted First Division, before the eyes of the chiefs of the Nation, led by their intrepid commander, passed in review.

Six Indians in the historic Eighteenth Infantry, Gen. Sherman's old regiment as he marched to the sea, and the seven Indians in "Pershing's Own" proudly faced Capitol Dome, stalwart statues of bronze reared to men of renown, and the far-reaching pinnacle of the Wash-

ington Monument. They came as heroes, battle-scarred, from the far fields of shell-torn France. They came as the saviors of the liberty of the world. Their wound stripes and militant decorations bore mute witness of their conquering and unconquerable valor. They came under the folds of the flag—to them a badge of authority, and not a symbol of liberty—the red in its stripes dyed a deeper crimson by the flowing of their own blood.

Every man who marched beside them could call that flag his very own, not so the Indian, he did not march as a citizen of the United States, though the first American. On he tramped, on by the reviewing stand, on by the White House, on out Pennsylvania Avenue, then—then lost on the wild and wide plains of the great West.

Gen. Pershing, who prizes the Indian as a fighter and feels profoundly that the Indian should be given his "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," has not only marched a victor across the battlefields of Europe, but in a noble way the Congress of the United States has opened its gates, and as he modestly forged his way along these aisles, and bared his head for the laurels so greatly won and so righteously given.

I pray you, open again your doors and bid the great commander to come for a second welcome, this time leading the Indians in "Pershing's Own," all Indians, all the Indians of the 189 tribes, and as they follow—hitherto downtrodden and oppressed—say to them: "Heroes of France, and because you are self-sacrificing and undying heroes, lift up your heads both for yourselves and your race, and receive, not the gilded cord of the fourragere of France, receive from a grateful and repentant nation the laurel wreath of citizenship.

Mr. GREENE. In the very same column marched with them through the pagentry any number of American native-born whites, boys not 21, and who themselves were not citizens.

Dr. DIXON. But they would have been citizens if 21. The Indian did not have this to look forward to, and even up to this hour he is deprived of the privilege, and life was as dear to the Indian as it was to any other man in the ranks. May it not be said just here that these men were not incompetent to fight, not incompetent to stand muster against the hardest competition which was imposed upon this composite regiment when organized, and therefore would we not be wise to dismiss the question of incompetency with reference to economics and put into righteous action the obligation we owe by giving the Indian citizenship?

Mr. GREENE. And when they (the Indians) became 21 they were held to be able not only to exercise the right of citizenship through vote on national finance but of their own.

Dr. DIXON. If you could hear the Indians talk as I have heard them in the camps and hospitals and on the reservations you would think they had gone through a course of economics.

Mr. GREENE. I say when you find an individual Indian who is competent to exercise citizenship and who wants to exercise citizenship through his vote, and he is willing to take the custody of his own property, I do not see any objection to his becoming a citizen. The only point I am stressing is, how are you going to justify such qualified citizenship as well as let those who do not want to assume the responsibility for their private fortunes and yet to assume responsibility for mine and all of my neighbors?



Dr. DIXON. I think, Mr. Congressman, I would care very little for those who do not have any desire to assume responsibility and give it to the whole mass of them.

Mr. MILLER. The 90 and 9 want it.

Mr. GREENE. I would give it to the 90 and 9 and give it to the others.

Mr. MILLER. We ought to give it first to the 90 and 9 and then deal with the remnant.

Mr. GREENE. That is another proposition.

Dr. DIXON. I must not delay this hearing with further testimony. But it is imperative that we heed the call coming from these officers, together with hundreds of others whose testimony I am not able to give you on account of lack of time, that we arouse ourselves to a just conception of the opportunity, privilege, and the duty that to-day confronts us. The story as I have related it to you is sufficiently long for you to grasp the tenor of the entire situation, and like the tread of armies, the argument presses upon us that we should heed the cry of wisdom, the cry of national honor, the cry of national necessity, the preponderating and all-compelling cry of justice and fair play to a race of people who have blood-redeemed the entire Indian Nation.

I come to you, therefore, to-day, gentlemen of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, with the plea for the North American Indian. Notwithstanding the urgency of the plea in 1917 that the Indian be given a distinct place in the great World War—a plea that was denied him, yet the Indian by many thousands went across the seas and made a distinct place for himself in the war. I now come seeking your favor to incorporate in the bill that you are to introduce for the reorganization of the new standing Army of the United States, some points that I may give you regarding the man power of the United States, and the necessity of incorporating an Indian division or divisions in the Regular Organization of the United States troops.

In the presentation now to be urged, the question will arise in your minds: What have Indian schools and Indian lands to do with an Army bill? Just this: If the Indian is to be a soldier he must be trained, and while being trained the inviolability of his lands must be maintained. I beg of you, therefore, to hear me through, because the provisions are vital.

To utilize the man power of the United States by organizing one or more full divisions of Indian troops as part of the military forces of the United States, to be known as the North American Indian division or divisions. To provide for the establishment of permanent regimental or battalion headquarters on or near important Indian reservations. To establish and maintain a system of schools on or near the several Indian reservations for the purpose of fitting Indian youth for a military career and their duties of citizenship. The establishment of a higher school for the purpose of instructing Indian soldiers as to the duties of noncommissioned officers, to be known as the Indian West Point. To provide by law for the entrance of Indian noncommissioned officers into the regular officers' schools now and which may be hereafter established. To declare all lands allotted or not already allotted on every Indian reservation to be inalienable for a period of 21 years. To declare all Indians of one-eighth or more blood, who shall have reached the age of 21 years, or who shall

have taken the prescribed oath of a regular soldier of the United States, to be a full citizen of the United States. That on and after the year 1929 every Indian youth who shall have been educated in and graduated from the reservation schools now established or to be established, or in any of the public schools maintained by any of the States of the United States, shall be declared a full citizen of the United States, upon reaching the age of 21 years, the test being that the Indian shall be able to read and write the English language.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That in order to conserve and utilize a large element of the man power of the United States, now wasted, that two or more full divisions of Indian soldiers be recruited and equipped and maintained at all times on a war footing, and made an integral part of the military forces of the United States, to be known as the First and Second North American Indian Division.

#### EXPLANATION.

The operation of the draft and the organization of the army of workers necessary to back up our armies in the field show the absolute necessity of conserving the man power of the Nation—to stop all wastage as far as possible—and now in peace times there will be a great shortage of labor on the farm and in the mines and factories. In other years the employers could confidently depend upon a large and constant stream of immigration to supply the growing demand. The havoc and devastation in all European countries will probably put an end to any large immigration for many years to come.

Then the opposition to keeping a large standing Regular Army will come not only from the unthinking small taxpayers, but also from the operators of large industries—large taxpayers—who will insist that they need the men who would otherwise enlist in the Army.

There is a large human waste in this country, and it is the purpose of this bill to utilize a large element of this waste, and in doing so confer a boon on the race of people who possess every trait of character for the making of fine soldiers. We have a chance to right by one act a century of wrongs heaped upon a defenseless people.

It is proposed to make a part of our Regular Military Establishment at least two full divisions of North American Indian troops on a war footing—fit to fight at a moment's notice. The act will provide a career for 54,000 men who are classed by prevailing public opinion to be lazy, shiftless, ignorant, and uncivilized. There are within the boundaries of the United States about 320,000 North American Indians; 75,000 of these Indians are between 18 and 45 years of age. The recruitment of 54,000 Indians into the military service would displace that number of white men who are badly needed on the farm and in the mines and factories. That is the very important but not the only economic question involved. For many years the Federal Indian Bureau has been operated at great expense to the Nation, and while many tribes have actually or theoretically large sums of money to their credit in the hands of the Treasurer of the United States, still it is undeniable that every effort to make agriculturists out of the Indians has been a failure, many of the reservation Indians have to be fed and clothed each year, the cost being paid by money they have not earned.

The North American Indian is a natural soldier by inheritance. He is brave, intrepid. He is a true friend and a fierce hater. He is loyal and obedient to authority. He is truthful and dependable. The laziest loungeur on a reservation can be transformed in a minute to undertake a ride or a tramp of many miles in the hottest or coldest weather. He can endure physical exertion that would put a trained athlete to shame.

Now what does this apparent paradox mean? Just this—that when an Indian is interested he becomes keen-witted and entirely capable. He is a warrior by tradition. This act will open for him a career. The Indian resists all efforts to mold him into a farmer, a common laborer, or a wage earner. He possesses mechanical ingenuity and will use it to accomplish a thing, but he will not use it to earn a wage.

SEC. 2. The First Division shall consist of two brigades of Infantry, each to consist of two regiments of Infantry and two regiments of Artillery, together with the necessary battalions of Engineers and machine gunners, trench bomb throwers, Hospital and Signal Corps, aviation and military police corps, a squadron of mounted Indian scouts, and such other necessary units as go to make up a mobile Infantry division ready for war.

#### EXPLANATION.

Originally all the North American Indians hunted and made war on foot. After the Spaniards came, the type of Indian ponies was evolved, and the plains Indians—the buffalo hunters—became horsemen. The eastern Indians or wood Indians, never became mounted warriors, but did their fighting on foot. Therefore it is entirely practical to use the Indian either as a foot or mounted soldier. Certain tribes like the Cheyennes, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Pawnees seem to have known the horse sooner than the Sioux, Apaches, and Navajoes, and as artillerists, machine gunners, scouts, in air service, Navy, submarine, signal corps, engineering, infantry—indeed, every branch of the service they have been found efficient.

SEC. 3. The Second Division shall consist of two brigades of Cavalry, each to consist of three regiments of Cavalry, and one regiment of Light Artillery, and such other necessary battalions and units as go to make a mobile Cavalry division.

#### EXPLANATION.

It would be easy to recruit six regiments of splendid rough riders. Mexico has been justly esteemed by a great statesman as constituting our own Balkan question.

There are 1,400 miles of border line to be protected, many miles of which traverse a desolate desert. In the Imperial Valley there are hundreds of millions of irrigation interests. To do this work no other troops would prove as efficient. It would seem good policy, as well as economy, to mount such troops in the Regular Army.

The broncho and the cayuse Indian ponies are hardy, possess speed and great endurance; they can go days with little or no water, and can subsist by browsing cactus and other desert vegetation that a regular cavalry horse will not touch.

These ponies can be raised and bought for less than \$50 per head, while a standard Cavalry horse can not be purchased for less than \$125. The Indian pony would be more serviceable than the regular

Cavalry horse, and would be a distinctive mount for a distinctive arm of the Regular service.

The northern Indian would prove as useful in Alaska or the Philippines as in the United States. He is inured to cold and the blizzard as he is to the heat of the desert, or the Tropics. In other words he is an all-around good soldier.

Sec. 4. That every male Indian living within the boundaries of the United States, having one-eighth or more Indian blood in his veins, and who has reached the age of 18 years, and who has passed a physical examination made by authorized medical examiners and recruiting officers of the United States, shall be eligible to enlist and become a part of the various units of the North American Indian divisions.

Sec. 5. That Indian soldiers now serving in the armies of the United States may be transferred at their own request to the North American Indian division, and Indian soldiers who have served enlistments in the armies of the United States, or any body of the National Guard of the various States, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, upon reenlistment shall be received into the North American Indian division, and as a recognition of their services they shall be given promotion of at least one grade, as noncommissioned officers, and upon qualifying may be given promotion as regular commissioned officers, it being the purpose of this act to make the North American Indian division a distinctive Indian military organization as far as the personnel of the private and noncommissioned officers are concerned, and as far as possible the commissioned officers: *Provided*, That in no case is the standard set by the United States Army for the efficiency of its officers to be set aside.

#### EXPLANATION.

One of the greatest obstacles to the creation of a separate corps of Indian troops is happily removed by the fact that there have been serving in our armies something like 17,000 Indian soldiers. Some of these Indians held commissions, some were noncommissioned officers, and the remainder were thoroughly trained, and are now veterans by reason of battles and service. There can be no doubt but that a very large number of these Indian soldiers are qualified to fill the positions of noncommissioned officers, and quite a number will be qualified to serve as lieutenants, and even higher rank.

As the Indian would enter the new service as a life career, it would take only a few years of proper education to provide a large group of young Indians who would be qualified to hold all noncommissioned ranks, and in time all grades up to that of major could be filled by men of Indian blood. Meanwhile the Indian Corps would furnish the opportunity of utilizing a great number of white commissioned officers. A lesson taught by the Great War is that the country can not have too many educated and experienced officers.

Sec. 6. There shall be established on or near the larger Indian reservations, and at other places near large Indian populations, permanent regimental or battalion headquarters, where a regular depot company or battalion will be maintained for the purpose of recruitment and training of Indian soldiers, it being the purpose to keep the ranks of all the units of the North American Indian divisions filled by replacements from the depot companies or battalions. The permanent regimental or battalion headquarters of the Cavalry and Artillery units of the North American Indian division shall be located on or near the large Indian reservations, and equipped as remount stations, where pasture is plenty and where feed for the animals can be purchased from the surrounding farms.

#### EXPLANATION.

While as a general proposition all Indian reservations should be abolished, yet if the Indian is to be treated as in the past it would be

the best policy to keep inviolate the treaties, giving the Indian the lands embraced in the boundaries of the several reservations and help to protect and make more valuable the last heritage of the Red Man, his tribal lands and his individual allotments.

By making permanent regimental or battalion headquarters and locating them on or adjacent to the larger reservations and centers of Indian population, it would serve a very laudable purpose and at the same time prove a real economy.

The recruits for all the units of the Indian divisions must come from the Indian population. When the proper schools are established and the Indian boy will graduate from his school right into the service of the United States. Therefore, the cost of recruitment is entirely eliminated. The older Indians can be encouraged to raise horses and mules for the United States service, and these headquarters can be made ideal remount stations. The raising of grain, hay, and feed crops—a local market—will encourage agriculture both on and off the reservations. Battalions and even regiments can be sent for service to Hawaii, the Philippines, or to Alaska, while the headquarters battalions or companies will be constantly receiving recruits and training them for replacements.

There will probably be opposition to the idea of recruiting a company, or an entire battalion, from one reservation, but a study of human gregariousness will show that a unit of men coming from one town or State will develop a certain esprit de corps that a mixed command will not show. The glory of Wellington and Napoleon is entwined with the names of certain regiments and units that have added luster to it. Therefore, a battalion or company of Sioux, of Seminoles, or Apaches will make better soldiers than if the individuals are scattered among men of many tribes.

The general public has no idea of the cost of recruiting for the Regular Army in times of peace. It does not understand how difficult it is to obtain good soldiers, or the number of desertions that annually deplete the Army.

The establishment of permanent regimental or battalion headquarters will operate for the Indian troops at least as a great saving in cost of recruitment, desertions will be practically unknown, and, as it will be a military career, a very large per cent of the soldiers will reenlist until superannuated by law. In this connection it must be observed that a healthy vigorous Indian of 50 years is as fit to make a campaign as a white man of 30. In the Indian wars the old chiefs partook of every hardship that the young warrior did, and was, if anything, a formidable fighter. Therefore, the Indian soldier would be the most economic element in our Regular Army.

Now, the next step is in answer, Mr. Wise, to your question, and it is vitally important.

SEC. 7. There shall be established and maintained a system of graded schools on the several Indian reservations for the purpose of educating and fitting Indian youth for a military career and the duties of citizenship. It shall be compulsory for all Indian children between the ages of 8 and 18 to attend these schools. The sessions of these schools shall be continuous, except in the severe winter months, when storms and blizzards make it hazardous to the lives of pupils and teachers. A common-sense curriculum of studies shall be adopted and physical training made a regular part of the school system. While the main object of these schools shall be the opening of a military career to the Indian boys of the several reservations, it is

provided that the pupils be given every chance and every encouragement to develop along agricultural, mechanical, and industrial lines. The standard for the military career shall be the reading and writing of the English language and physical fitness.

#### EXPLANATION.

The reservation schools as now conducted do not spell success in any way. Up to the present time the Indian parents as a rule send their children to school with extreme reluctance. Take the Crow Reservation, for example. There was in 1917 a total of 461 children of school age and the number attending the school was 157.

In the Osage Nation the children of school age in 1917 numbered 913. The attendance of the reservation school was 151. But as the Osage Nation is a county of the State of Oklahoma, which has a compulsory educational law, 765 of the children attended the county graded schools, a total of 916; the three overplus children may have been Pawnee Indian children. So it seems that in order to carry out the purpose of this act, several district graded schools should be established in the Crow Reservation and other reservations, and all Indian children be compelled to attend. The adult Indians will be quick to respond to the idea of a military career for their boys, and a 10-year old boy will require no urging, for his interest will be awakened with the opportunity to become a big warrior. Up to now schooling has meant the endeavor to make a boy a squaw man—to try to induce him to work on a farm or to do other work. Most Indians understand English, but nearly all full bloods pretend not to understand. All this is changed when an officer appears for the purpose of recruiting a force of Indian scouts for some campaign. A white officer has no difficulty in making his orders understood. Any officer who has served in the Indian campaigns will bear out this statement. So when it is known that an Indian boy must learn to read, write, and speak English in order to become a soldier, and especially to become a little chief, or noncommissioned officer, he will study and learn in school.

Were it not for the very considerable number of Indians now in the military and naval service of the United States, and the several hundred in the Canadian regiments of the British Army, many of whom will reenlist in the various units of the North American Indian Division, the task of molding the reservation Indians into highly trained troops would be herculean. The per cent of white illiterates among the present generation, men within the draft age, is very great. The present system of reservation schools is, and always will be a failure. The modern soldier not only must be able to understand the language of his officers but also must be able to read written orders. The Indian child can learn to do all of this if given the proper instruction. Therefore, it is essential to provide graded schools at convenient places on all the reservations. Compulsory education is so generally in vogue in the several States of our Union that it is but fair to the Indian child that the parents be compelled to send their children to the schools to be established, and it is necessary to provide a sensible and practical course of study. While a military career will be the popular ambition of the Indian boys, many will, for various reasons, want to go into other callings and the girls should also be given a

chance to be placed on an educational equality with their brothers, and future mates.

At the thirteenth annual convention of the National Collegiate Convention, held in New York December 28, 1918, at which most of the colleges of the country were represented, it was determined that one of the big lessons to be learned from the war was that in the days to come athletics in college will be for the majority, and not for the few specialized champions.

Dr. Raycroft said that when the armistice was declared plans were under way to make the Student's Army Training Corps a permanent part of the Army. He told of how the intensive training had developed raw recruits into smart, alert soldiers. He advocated making physical education a part of the scholastic program, hygiene being first, then disciplinary drill and competitive athletics to harden their bodies.

Dr. T. A. Story, New York State inspector of physical training, strongly proposed that the association recommend to President Wilson and the Government the necessity for establishment of a national bureau for physical training to supervise athletics in schools and colleges. He argued that this step was imperative in view of the many rejections of men called in the draft because of physical disability.

The manhood of the Nation must be built up. It is therefore proposed that in Indian schools the girls and boys, especially the boys, shall be compelled to practice all forms of vigorous hercules, just as the Greeks did in the years the material for Alexander's all-conquering soldiers were in the making.

So the Indian school, rightfully conducted, is not only a necessary factor to the provisions of this man power bill, but also for every enterprise that calls for active skilled men to "carry on."

When an Indian boy learns to write, you may be sure he writes a good legible hand. Indian children learn drawing easily, and every Indian boy has mechanical ability. Therefore, it is likely that in the coming generations Indian boys will want to complete their education in some of the best technical schools in the land. With a strong healthy body, and a mind stored with the learned fundamental principles of an education, the Indian boy can not fail to be a useful citizen, even if he chooses some other calling than a soldier. Still, because a proper education is essential for him to make a good soldier in the modern sense, the establishing of proper schools is really a part of the general scheme to utilize the Indian man power now going to waste, as well as to perform the national duty of fitting all conditions and races of men in the United States for citizenship.

SEC. 8. There shall be established a higher school to be known as the Indian West Point. Any Indian soldier who shall have the permission of his company commanding officer shall be eligible to become a student of this school. The purpose of the school shall be to fit any soldier for the duties of a noncommissioned officer in the North American Indian Division. All specialized and mechanical branches necessary to an army will be taught. Higher mathematics to fit the soldier to be a non-commissioned officer in the quartermaster, ordnance, and artillery departments, Signal Service, Hospital Corps, Aero Service, veterinary and all other branches requiring skill. Any Indian boy who has graduated from an Indian reservation school, and who has shown great aptitude for some special subject connected with the Army can become a student in the Indian West Point, upon his enlisting as a private, and securing the permission of the recruiting officer.

Indian boys who have graduated from a public school having eight grades, of any State in the United States, can become a student of the Indian West Point by enlisting as a private and securing the permission of the recruiting officer.

#### EXPLANATION.

There should be established a higher school for the purpose of preparing the Indian soldier for the higher technical duties of a non-commissioned officer. He should be given special instruction in bookkeeping and accounts, map drawing, mathematics, for every kind of service. A military high school, or as it may be called, the Indian West Point. There is an abandoned school site with plenty of grounds and buildings. It was known as the Chillocho School, and there are probably other abandoned Indian schools still belonging to the Government which would be ideal for this school.

SEC. 9. Any noncommissioned officer of the North American Indian Divisions who has served one full enlistment can make application to attend any of the officers' schools now established, or which may be established by the United States, provided that he obtain the permission of his battalion commander. A noncommissioned officer of the North American Indian Division, who obtains an officer's commission after the examination prescribed by the United States, shall be assigned as any other officer of the United States, of same grade, and can be assigned to any regiment or unit of the United States Army where his services are best needed.

#### EXPLANATION.

An opportunity should be given every Indian soldier to be promoted to the highest military rank, provided he has the mental and soldierly qualities. There are those who believe that every soldier in the Army of the Republic should enter the service as a private, and that schools like West Point should be a means to furnish specialized education for the men who have already shown the qualities for command. By assuring the opportunity for promotion, it is possible, and even probable, that some day a general of Indian blood will be on the Army roster. During the Civil War Gen. Green McCurtain, a full-blood Choctaw, served with distinction in the Confederate forces. Gen. John Ross, a Cherokee, commanded a brigade in the Federal Army, and Gen. John Morgan, a full-blood Iroquois, was a brigade commander, serving on Gen. Grant's staff, and wrote the terms of surrender at Appomattox, and thus the roster might be lengthened.

By the operation of National and State laws investing the Indian with citizenship, it is by no means improbable that young men of Indian blood will enter West Point, and upon graduation be commissioned as officers and placed in the regular line of promotion. But it is to give all Indian males a military career, and especially those born on the several reservations where the educational advantages can not hope to be equal to those of densely populated sections, that it seems necessary to provide a permissive law that any soldier of the Indian divisions should be allowed to attend the regular officers' schools maintained by the Army for white soldiers seeking commissions.

SEC. 10. To further the purposes of this act, it is declared that on and after the date of the passage of this act, that all lands allotted or unallotted, within the boundaries of all Indian reservations, shall be inalienable for a period of 21 years. It is provided, however, that the tribes of Indians owning the unallotted lands of the several Indian



reservations can lease the same for grazing, agriculture, mining, or lumbering, by and with the consent of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and all Indians having allotments within the several Indian reservations can lease their allotments for agriculture or mineral development, for cash, or named improvement rental by and with the consent of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

#### EXPLANATION.

Unless the Indian soldier is assured that his property rights are rigidly guarded by the Government he serves, an Indian army might be a menace to the country instead of a protection.

The history of all Indian treaties has been the same; fair words and broken promises. Nearly every treaty has promised the Indian that in exchange for the relinquishment of title to great tracts of land they would be given undisputed title and possession to certain lands and would be protected in their rights so long as "water runs and grass grows." Then, almost at once, their holdings are besieged by land-hungry white men; the professional land grafter begins his work; States that owe their very existence to ceded lands of the Indian set up a clamor that the continuance of the Indian reservation retards the development of the State.

Land hunger is a mental obsession. The desire to possess other people's property is not new. The horde of frontiersmen have moved resistlessly on until to-day there is no frontier in the United States—none but public lands and the Indian reservations remain to be squatted on and seized.

That land hunger is an obsession can be easily seen when the method of settlement of lands is analyzed. Indian reservations are, as a rule, surrounded by millions of acres of precisely the same lands owned by the Government or as school and public lands by the States. These lands are offered to the settlers at low prices and on long terms. Much of them can still be homesteaded, yet it is the Indian land that attracts, and hardly a session of Congress is held that does not act upon some measures introduced to take from the Indian huge slices of their lands. Ingenious protests are urged, but the result is the same—to make a scrap of paper out of a solemn treaty.

Nor does this obsession show in individuals alone. Corporations seek to obtain rights of exploitation on reservations where timber is known to stand, where pasturage is known to exist, and where minerals are suspected to be found. A bill introduced in a recent Congress asked to allow the right to explore and exploit certain Indian reservations which consist of dreary wastes and desert lands. There are millions of acres of desert surrounding these reservations, but the forbidden land seems to be a hidden mine of precious metals. This is not an overdrawn theory; it is a condition, and because it plays an important part in this man power bill it should provide that all reservation lands be inalienable for a period of 21 years.

The reason 21 years is named is that all Indian children now living will have come under the operation of the new Indian schools and will become of lawful age by that time. It is expected that under the impetus of the desire for education that the product of the schools will be qualified to handle their own property.

A large percentage of the Indians—adults and minors—now living on reservations, have already received their individual allotments, the remaining lands still being held in common by the tribes. During a period of 21 years with its annual increase of newly born will be allotted until the last acre of tribal lands will become individual holdings. During that period the older Indians will die off, and their children, many of them soldiers of the Indian divisions, will inherit the lands of their parents in due process of law, so that when the soldiers become superannuated or retired for any reason they will find themselves in comfortable circumstances, and their military education and training will make them well able to handle their estates personally or to live off the income. These Indian estates will then not be an obstacle to the development of the State in which the reservation is situated, but will lead in the march of progress.

It is a well recognized phenomenon that nature in some mysterious way keeps up the parity of sexes. In response to the killing and maiming of men in times of war, the percentage of male births increases, and within a few years the parity of the two sexes is reestablished. The withdrawal of such a large part of the young Indian manhood, to fill the ranks of the Indian Divisions will undoubtedly meet the certain response of nature, and in future years the quantity and quality of the Indians who will make up the Indian units of the divisions will be higher and better.

But to allow the best results, the Indians at home and in the Army must not be pauperized; they must be protected by a law which will take their lands entirely out of the market, and beyond the unholy lust of the landsharks. Those who have had the opportunity of talking with the leading men of various tribes are always struck by the complaint of broken treaties coupled by the almost child-like confidence that the last treaty would be observed by the Government. Where then is the supposed revengefulness of the Indian? We know from a white man's point of view that even a worm will turn, so it appears that an Indian will be a better soldier, a better citizen, a higher type of man if his trust is not betrayed, if he be protected in his property and not be swindled out of it.

It will appear to be improper to weigh down this bill by full protective clauses, but it is germane to this measure that all Indian reservation lands be declared inalienable.

SEC. 11. All Indians of one-eighth or more blood and who shall have reached the age of twenty-one (21) years, and shall have taken the prescribed oath of a regular soldier of the United States, shall be and is hereby declared a full citizen of the United States.

#### EXPLANATION.

As a matter of right, justice and fair play, all Indians born within the United States are entitled to be American citizens. That this right has been withheld from him has been due to several reasons. All the general treaties made between the white man and the red man promised that all Indians were to be given full opportunities for an education, and that they be invested with American citizenship. All of these treaties have proven to be "scraps of paper." It is true that there have been desultory attempts at education; isolated schools have been established, but the Government has evaded its full duty

by turning over its educational matters to various religious sects, and societies, and thus lost all interest in the matter.

Where the Indian population is large, the Government nor its delegates have ever attempted to establish local schools, placing them within reach of small children to attend. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that the present day Indians are unlettered and so many of them can not speak the English language. A further misdirected policy of the Government is to be found in the attempt to do the impossible; viz., to make a white man out of the Indian. Citizenship has also been denied the Indian because to hold the Indian in ignorance furnishes more ample opportunity to impose upon him.

Indians have fought beside the white man in every war waged on this continent. In the Civil War the members of the Five Civilized Tribes furnished organized troops to both sides of the conflict. The Cherokees furnished several regiments, and at least one Indian became a brigadier general, and several commanded regiments in the Union Armies. The Choctaws and Chickasaws furnished soldiers to the Confederates, and at least one Choctaw received a commission as brigadier general; and we must not forget Gen. Morgan and Col. Parker of Gen. Grant's staff.

When the present great World War was started, and even before our country had entered the conflict, many of the Northwestern Indians crossed the Canadian boundary and enlisted in the Canadian regiments, and even before our declaration of war many Indians enlisted in our Navy, in the marines, and in the Army.

These men deserve the good-will of their country, and it ought to be a pleasure to declare them all citizens of the country they have fought for.

When the draft was adopted, a large number of Indians, together with men of foreign birth, were willingly caught in the dragnet, and then it became a problem just what to do with men who could not understand the language of command, and who could not read the words of written orders. Schools were hastily formed, and after much delay most of the men were filtered into the actual fighting units. This problem of illiteracy was handled as well as the emergency warranted, but there is no doubt but that some laws will be enacted compelling foreigners to learn the language of this country. And this applies particularly to the reservation Indian.

Illiteracy is a menace to the country, and section 12 of this bill is supplementary to section 7, and opens a way to produce a large number of educated soldiers and citizens, in the place of a mass of nature-born people who are occupying the dependent positions of wards of this Nation.

Because in States like Oklahoma, where all Indians of certain degrees are considered as citizens, and their children are compelled by law to attend the public schools, this law need not be invoked, because the children become citizens of the States wherein they live, but it would still apply to the children of the full bloods, when the community public schools can not, or will not, receive them.

The results of any given law are always slow, but the adoption of this man-power bill will produce each year a growing number, and by the year 1929 the child of 10 years, now living on a reservation, will have graduated from the new schools to be established by this

act, and will be fit to become a soldier, and upon arriving at the age of 21 will be fit to be a citizen of the United States, whether he becomes a soldier or follows some industrial or other peaceful calling. In the meantime, the present adult Indian will be passing away, another and capable generation will occupy the boards, a quarter of a million of human waste will be salvaged, and the Indian will move side by side with his white brother in the march of national progress.

SEC. 12. That on and after the year 1929 every Indian youth who shall have been educated in and graduated from the reservation schools now established, or to be established, or in any of the public schools maintained by any of the States of the United States, shall be declared a full citizen of the United States upon reaching the age of 21 years.

SEC. 13. Every Indian who served in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, or showed his patriotism in any other way, is hereby declared a citizen of the United States, with the guarantee of full protection of all inheritances, land tenure, and tribal funds.

SEC. 14. All acts or parts of acts in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

MR. MCKENZIE. If we should pass a law granting citizenship to Indians, it would knock out all that proposition you are talking about now?

DR. DIXON. By that proposition do you mean to say if you granted citizenship to all of the Indians extant on the American continent today that their children coming after them would be citizens? You would have to nominate that, because they are all in the treaty.

MR. MCKENZIE. If their parents were citizens, the children would be without any further legislation.

MR. GREENE. You can not make any that will bring a part of the citizenship of the country into a military caste.

DR. DIXON. The citizenship of the Indian must be provided for by the training of the present Indian population, and it can not be done with the present system of Indian education.

MR. GREENE. That may be true, but you are providing there that after having become citizens that they must still be under some special conservation under governmental policy; in other words, to set them off to one side from other citizens, although under the Constitution we can not pass any such class legislation.

DR. DIXON. This bill provides that a public school system be established on the Indian reservations which does not now exist, Government schools—and that the compulsory education be placed in vogue, and that these boys and girls as they come up—boys who want to choose a military career may do so and go on to these military depots and schools, finally to an Indian West Point that you would establish somewhere and interchanging with our own West Point, and that the other boys and girls would go into professional life, become agriculturists or whatever they liked. The result would be that the next generation every Indian child would speak English, which they now do not speak. They seem to avoid it, and the older people will not speak it, but the next generation will all speak English, and they will graduate from that school where they have been taught reading, writing, and arithmetic and physical training and also manual training that will fit them to make a living out of the environment where they are, and then they can go on to the larger school, professional schools, if they like.

But you have started them all on the right road by establishing a compulsory system of education which does not now exist, and which is as essential to the Indian to-day as it is essential for you to vote an appropriation for the training for citizenship of the aliens who have come to these shores.

Mr. GREENE. What I wanted to point out to you was that when people become citizens under the constitutional law you can not mark them off into a class which differentiates them from other citizens——

Dr. DIXON (interposing). I would not do that.

Mr. GREENE (continuing). And give them certain kinds of education under compulsion which other citizens are not required to take.

Dr. DIXON. Are not our citizens compelled to send their children to school now; and would not your position nullify universal training?

Mr. GREENE. Within certain limitations of State laws. It is not a Federal proposition at all. It is controlled by whatever may be the local laws of the State in which they live, and by no means covers such a variety of things as you have indicated, nor are they obliged to take certain kinds of studies when they go to public schools other than elementary.

Dr. DIXON. That is all provided for here.

Mr. GREENE. You have them going through vocational education and military training.

Dr. DIXON. That is for the boy who goes on to the military schools.

Mr. GREENE. But it is compulsory.

Mr. MCKENZIE. How do you propose to raise those regiments, by volunteer enlistment?

Dr. DIXON. They will come in with a rush.

Mr. MILLER. I am asking you this for the purpose of information: If you grant the rights of citizenship that you were speaking about a while ago and make these Indians full citizens of the United States, of course, then they would bear their just proportion of the public taxation and exercise all the rights of citizenship, among which is that blessed privilege of paying taxes; and you would provide these schools or they would be provided in the community and be sustained and perpetuated by the same principle that we sustain and perpetuate our institutions here. Would you recommend that? Where you put a man in as a citizen of the United States it is not all a bed of roses; he has certain duties—to pay taxes, he has to exercise the right of citizenship. If he does not exercise it, we make him exercise the right of citizenship by taxing his property, and if he does not pay those taxes we sell his property. That would apply if we give full citizenship to all those Indians who are not now citizens, and, of course, then they would support their schools and everything else just the same as other citizens do elsewhere.

Dr. DIXON. You ask if I would put the Indian in that position?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Dr. DIXON. I most surely would.

Mr. MILLER. He would be ready to receive it, would he not?

Dr. DIXON. Yes, sir; he would be ready to receive it; and I would put him there with an enthusiastic consciousness that he would succeed. The hardest thing you could put upon him in the way of taxes or obligations of citizenship would not be comparable with the hardships he has suffered in the last three hundred years.

Mr. MILLER. Three hundred years as an alien—suppose we should give him that citizenship as you have suggested and as several others here know ought to be guaranteed, and we should pass a universal military training bill requiring all young men to surrender themselves to a period of military training, how do you think that would be received amongst them?

Dr. DIXON. I think there are some who would demur. There are some people, you know, who would object to going to heaven, because they would not feel at home there, and I do not know but what it would be a bad thing to try to get them to heaven, because they would be happier in an environment less musical.

Mr. MILLER. Do you think they would take military training just the same as the rest of us?

Dr. DIXON. I do; and many times better than the rest of us; but I think there would be some who would object once in a while.

Mr. MILLER. I think so.

Dr. DIXON. But why do we sit here and talk about objections, when the positive truth ought to prevail and we ought to go ahead and do it?

Mr. GREENE. Part of your argument for two divisions of Indians was based on the idea that those two divisions would by that much lessen the obligations of white men to serve in the Army and allow those white men to go about other occupations?

Dr. DIXON. I did say that; I said it advisedly, because of the fact that the exigencies of the war have given us a stringency in the labor market and our economics are suffering from it; and these men who would be called out into the service of their country could be more useful to their country, perhaps, in some large corporation, or some manufacturing institution, or on the farm, or in professional life; whereas, the Indian, if I may recall it, came from the mountains and the plains, a hundred miles from a railway station, with no telegraph, with no newspaper, not speaking the English language. But somehow or other he heard this call of his country to go, and he started and shouldered his musket and went to France. Now, he comes back again to that old environment and this legislation I am proposing gives him an opportunity to come out and stand with his fellowmen, among the high things the Nation is doing, and it enables the boys and girls who are out there on those plains and in those woods and mountains, on the Blackfeet Reservation—there are two of them sitting there—who have 900 children on the reservation, and 675 of them are out of schools because there is not a schoolhouse or teacher. What I am going to ask is that you provide these schools—that is what I am after; that is the crux of this whole business; that is the bottom of it—to get a system of public school instruction on the reservations and not have the forest that is out there now.

Mr. WISE. The school proposition you are discussing now, the Military Committee has nothing on earth to do with and could not have; that belongs to another committee.

Dr. DIXON. There is not a man who ought to preach unless he is prepared to preach, and there is not a man who should go to the front unless he knows how to load a gun and aim it; and these people, if you are going to train them in the military service, have got to be educated, and this is why I wanted the schools, and that is exactly why

the Military Committee have a right to provide the means for training; and that is universal training.

Mr. WISE. Your theory would be that the Government ought to take charge of education all over the country of all races, and educate from infancy on up.

Dr. DIXON. Not at all. Here is a dependent race of people treated as wards, and we owe something to them.

Mr. WISE. Any kind of a school teaching the English language, reading, writing, etc., would teach the same thing this committee would teach them if they were going to start out to educate them. I do not know much about the conditions out there, but I was under the impression that another committee handled all of this; that those who wanted an education usually got such an education as they wanted, and that the rest go along. What has been the trouble that you have not been able to get the education the Indians want? These men out there have been appropriating for schools and all that. I do not see why you have not gone after that committee.

Dr. DIXON. You have the idea that because they have legislated for schools, and appropriated money for schools, and talked about schools, that they have got schools. Would you like to have me describe that whole system of Indian education out there? I could do it in just one word, the word "farce."

Mr. GREENE. How do you assume that by shifting it to another committee that you would get anything better?

Dr. DIXON. It is not the fault of the Indian Committee, but it is the fault of the people who are placed in charge of what the Indian Committee is trying to do. The Indian administration is the obstruction.

Mr. GREENE. Why can they not follow up their own work and see that it is executed?

Dr. DIXON. If you will tell me why they have not done that for a score of years—

Mr. GREENE (interposing). Is that the reason for transferring the jurisdiction over to us?

Dr. DIXON. Just the reason; because I would like to get something more done.

Mr. GREENE. What more assurance have you that you will accomplish what you want if you start with our jurisdiction, since we would have to begin with the same kind of men?

Dr. DIXON. In the first place, it would not be starting with the same kind of men. I have not looked you in the face for over three and a half hours this afternoon, when you started in with a calm, deliberate, judicial patience, without becoming encouraged, and I have been gratified with it this afternoon more than anything I can say. You have had an earnestness of spirit and there has been a mellowness in your tone of voice in every question you have asked me that has gone down deep in my soul, and I have said "These men are men, are men of common sense; they are patriots, and they will take hold of this thing and do justice to the Indian."

I want this system of education for the Indian transferred from the Indian administration, as it is now conducted, and give the Indian the public school system just the same as is given to any other citizen. I want to take it away from the administration of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and bring these young children up so that they can go on a military career, and your establishment

of schools on the reservation is simply to prepare these boys for a military career. I want you to take them all up, establishing depots and schools on Indian reservations so that they can arrange to grow grain, to raise cattle and horses and sell them, and encourage agriculture among themselves and neighboring States, and then go on with a military career; to establish schools that will bring Indian boys and girls up to an idea that they want to do something in life. They do not get that with the kind of schools they have now.

Mr. GREENE. Your words are very flattering.

Dr. DIXON. They are very true.

Mr. GREENE. I am afraid we have not jurisdiction in the matter of any such kind of education.

Dr. DIXON. There is not anything in God Almighty's eternal world that you can not get if you strike for it; you can get jurisdiction.

First of all, the public school system that I ask be established by military law on the reservations is absolutely essential to the proper qualification of the rising Indian generation for citizenship, and furnishes the basis for a proper qualification of the Indian in his training for military service, and this belongs to universal military training. This school system, including manual training, will fit boys and girls on the reservations to make a living within the environment where they are, and will, at the same time, prepare the boys who choose a military career to advance in the military schools that your bill will establish. Thus the whole system of education is closely interlocked with the idea of universal military training.

I know how hard it is for some members of your committee to get away from the idea that the question of land and the question of education belong to the Committee on Indian Affairs. It may be said that they have had scores of years in which to remedy this matter and have not done it, and were they to make the proposition and refer it to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for execution, the bureau would relegate it to the ash heap without delay. The fact is, it never has been done, and the fact that it ought to be done is an argument for doing it now, and it can be done under the guardianship of a military necessity; and thus you bring about a system of education on the reservations which can not be born in any other way, and all of it linked indissolubly with the necessity of universal military training.

Further, it would be very difficult for any man who has not an intimate and long-time acquaintance with conditions as they obtain on these reservations to realize that any opportunity whatsoever for the Indian to gain employment or to acquire knowledge while on the reservations with the present administration obtaining would be as fruitless as it would be to put a mining engineer in a jewelry store and ask him to find a job. The statement I am now making is emphasized by the fact that while the Government is making large appropriations for the education of the alien that he may be brought into proper relation with the State, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is as rapidly as possible depleting and annihilating the educational facilities for the Indian on the reservations. In the appropriation bill he asked for the abolition of six Indian high schools, notably the one at Tacoma, Wash.



The hope of the Indian's education, therefore, lies with the Military Committee, not the Indian Committee, or the Indian Office, and it can easily be accomplished through this measure. This school system will revolutionize the entire race of people, and the next generation will speak English, those who wish to pursue agriculture or a professional career will have had their start in this compulsory system of education, and will be fitted for citizenship and, according to my suggestion, will automatically become citizens at the age of 21, and those who wish to seek a military career will have within their reach on the reservations a military school, fitting them for this patriotic pursuit.

At the same time, the advantage accruing to the Indian will be great, because these schools must be supported by the Government, and it will further their agricultural aspirations, enable them to raise horses, mules, and cattle for sale, and thus will be a quickening of an intelligent and civilizing program.

Can your committee, therefore, do any greater thing than to incorporate in your Army bill this provision for a public school system, aiming at universal military training by incorporating an Indian division in the new Army?

Let us suppose that there will not be enough Indians to compose a division. Even so, take all who so aspire, and reward the race for the valiant and heroic service in France, and thus use the measure as an opportunity for the emancipation of a whole race of people.

MR. GREENE. Your experience has not resembled ours along that line.

But I want to ask you another question, because there is a bigger policy than the mere creation of two divisions in the Army back of all this. You emphasized the fact awhile ago that the Indian was, by nature and temperament a fighting man and that he would take to this business much more easily than he would to the more peaceful trades, handicrafts, and professions, and that therefore we could get him in sufficient numbers to man two divisions, and by that amount reduce the drain upon the white population for military service and permit that equivalent of white men to go into these same occupations that the Indian does not want to go into. That was the basis of your argument. Let me ask you if it is good public policy for a republic, in which all men are held constitutionally and in the spirit of the law to equal military service in time of national peril, for that republic to cultivate a certain class which must grow up simply to be its fighting men because they can not and will not do anything else, and let the other fellows follow trades of peace, relying upon these fighting men?

DR. DIXON. You do not debar the man who is following peaceful pursuits from engaging in military pursuits or espousing a military career, but you give to the Nation the advantages of his relief from that arm of the service by bringing into that career a man who is fitted for that, who is a soldier in all instincts of his life, and at the same time you give him opportunity for expansion of his influence and an enlargement of his own horizon and sphere of usefulness.

As to your question regarding the policy of a government to make a class distinction of that sort—I doubt very much whether it could be so construed—even that would be more preferable than to have

these men fail to follow a military career and remain in idleness and illiteracy with a gun over their shoulder, and dog and pony.

Mr. GREENE. Governments never consider the preferences of individuals.

Dr. DIXON. No; but they would have to consider the fact that he is a part of the country's population.

Mr. GREENE. That does not distinguish them at all. If a man owes an obligation to his government, either to pursue economically and thriftily the paths of the occupations of peace, but he says, "I won't do it; I want to be a fighting man, and that is the only condition upon which I will render service to the Government," the Government is not taking that man at his own preference and the Government that relies upon getting the support of a man at his own preference is no government.

Dr. DIXON. But I did not say, Mr. Congressman, that they did prefer that. Some of them do, and those that do represent a sufficient number so that it helps the economic situation.

Mr. GREENE. You are coming to the very point I made: Should the white man depend upon two or any number of the divisions of his Army being filled up with men who do not do anything else and who can not be made to do anything else, and by doing that particular thing relieve the white man from doing it?

Dr. DIXON. They can do something else; they would do something else, but they are specially fitted for doing this, and the very class distinction which you deprecate is provided for and emphasized by the flamboyant posters placed in all public places. You may read sentence after sentence like this:

Young man, prepare for the battle of life; get into the school of efficiency.

(Signed) ARMY RECRUITING STATION.

Illustrated circulars are sent out entitled, "Learn while you serve." Young men are importuned to enter the "University in Khaki," where they will be trained to acquire a sound body, the power of quick thinking, the power of self-control, and receive a good school education. Also the fact that all branches of the Army have established schools for various trades and occupations. And on top of this, the very idea of compulsion, which you seemed to deprecate a moment ago, is distinctly emphasized.

Mr. GREENE. Your argument was that he did not want to be a farmer; that he did not want to be a mechanic, except, of course, in the various individual instances that come to us, did not want to follow these other things, but that he would cheerfully go into the Army.

Dr. DIXON. A great many of them would; but a good many of them have gone into mechanics.

Mr. GREENE. Those are the fellows I am willing to encourage to get out and become citizens.

Dr. DIXON. I have started three or four of them in engineering courses already. Mr. Rodman Wanamaker has for years put a whole group of young Indians through Mercersburg Academy in preparation for a full course in Princeton University, and he has to-day Indian students in both of these institutions.

Mr. GREENE. All right, that is a good thing and I am glad of it; but I do not see how you can advance this argument that two divi-

sions of the Army be made up of Indians by saying that they will relieve the white man from his obligations to serve also.

Dr. DIXON. Mr. Greene, I would not relieve any citizen of his duty to his country by imposing his duty upon another citizen. Mine was a mere contrasting argument to help us to feel that we ought really to do something for these people, and I used it as a window pane through which I had a hope that you might get a vision.

Mr. GREENE. I am afraid it is a good deal like the argument being put forth that we ought to import coolie labor in California and Oregon because our people will not work with their own hands. Any government founded on the ground that people who performed manual labor are of a lower caste than they are is simply seeping his own foundations and will fall.

Dr. DIXON. Doomed! But, Mr. Greene, military service is not considered manual labor.

Mr. GREENE. Doomed, absolutely. Applying the analogy, any people who will not fight themselves but who will depend upon another people, who are not willing to do any thing but fighting are depending upon an army of mercenaries.

Dr. DIXON. The Indian has proved conclusively that he can never be called a mercenary. I am not asking that the white man be relieved of his duty—I am unwilling to relieve him of his duty and obligations to fight for his country—but I am urging that the Indian be given a training along with the white man and the meed of citizenship along with the white man. The Indian can and will do some thing beside fight. To give him a chance after ample training would utilize an otherwise unused force, and allow that number of white men to serve their generation in the economic world.

Mr. GREENE. I am perfectly willing that the Indian should go into the Army, but I am arguing against your proposal that you should establish them in any such numbers or in any such units, because they will never make an argument against the white man going in.

Dr. DIXON. I disclaim that in toto, because I want the white man to do his duty and I want to give the Indian an opportunity to do his duty, which he hitherto has not had, and in doing that I wanted to establish this system of education.

Mr. MILLER. As an entering wedge?

Dr. DIXON. As an entering wedge or the full wedge, only so you wedge it in.

Mr. MILLER. As I understand the doctor, he is advocating these two divisions in the Army for the present, extending enlistment to the Indians and letting these divisions perform a useful service, give them a citizenship as preliminary to this program.

Dr. DIXON. Exactly.

Mr. WISE. It looks like the latter part would come first, but I got from the doctor that what he wanted first was citizenship. He was advocating taking them into the Army, and by taking them in letting that constitute citizenship for those who went into the Army; and then he went on from there to say that he is in favor of forcing the citizenship en bloc.

Dr. DIXON. That was in answer to the question asked, whether I would give citizenship to men who are incompetent to manage their own affairs.

Mr. WISE. He argued that he would not give them control of their property. I am in favor of giving all citizenship who want it and

who are qualified for it, but a man who gets citizenship ought to be able to take care of his own property without somebody else supervising it or handling it for him. I would not want somebody else handling mine, what little I have.

Mr. WISE. That is, you would want a hundred per cent citizenship or none?

Dr. DIXON. On the contrary I argued, Mr. Wise, that they be given the control of their property, but I insisted that their property rights be protected; a vast difference it seems to me. This I would make absolute. The Indian has proven by his manhood and patriotism that he is capable of giving 100 per cent citizenship. He has bought it with his blood on the battle fields of France. To deny him the use of his property, not to protect his property from pilfering land sharks, and to fail to give him citizenship, full and complete, is to prove a lack of patriotic gratitude on our part, and that we ourselves have not reached the maximum of 100 per cent citizenship, and are lamentably lacking in the essentials of the principles of justice and fair play.

**STATEMENT OF THOMAS L. SLOAN, PRESIDENT, SOCIETY OF AMERICAN INDIANS, MEMBER OF OMAHA TRIBE OF INDIANS, NEBRASKA; RESIDENCE, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sloan, give your full name, residence, and occupation to the stenographer.

Mr. SLOAN. My name is Thomas L. Sloan. I am a member of the Omaha Tribe of Indians in Nebraska, and at the present time a resident of the city of Washington.

Mr. MILLER. What is your official position?

Mr. SLOAN. I have recently been elected president of the Society of American Indians, at the last annual conference which was held about the 1st of October in the city of Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. MILLER. You are, yourself, Mr. Sloan, a citizen?

Mr. SLOAN. Well, yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE. You are a legal citizen of the State of Oklahoma?

Mr. SLOAN. No; of Nebraska. I might say to you that the allotment that was made to me was under authority of a special act of Congress which was also an agreement between the Omaha Tribe of Indians and the United States. The seventh section thereof provided that upon the completion of the allotments to said Indians and the patenting of said lands to said allottees each and every member of said tribe should become subject to the civil and criminal law of said State and that said State should not pass any law denying any Indian of said tribe the equal protection of the law.

Since that enactment and the patenting of the lands, the Indians have exercised the rights of franchise. Their lands were held in trust, and by extension of the period are still held in trust excepting those to whom patents in fee have been issued after appearing before a competency commission. If they are found competent they receive fee patents for their land.

The qualification that Dr. Dixon has made that citizenship is only a qualified citizenship is evidence to me not only in respect to myself and to the members of my tribe, but those other tribes whom I have visited and concerning whom I know. For instance, upon the Omaha Reservation there are Indian lands that are still held

in trust, but for which taxes are being paid by the Indian owners. They are not permitted to make leases of those lands without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and although some of them have appeared before a competency commission, after due notice and extended hearings and investigations when they were found to be competent and that competency approved by the Secretary of the Interior, subsequent agents in charge of the reservation have without notice or hearing declared them incompetent, made leases for their lands for a lesser sum than they themselves could receive for it, and have also sold their lands. Just recently before the Indian Bureau a sale was up ready for approval, when an Indian of my tribe, Mr. Francis La Flesche, who is an employee of the Bureau of Ethnology, appeared on behalf of some of those Indians and protested the sale. His brother was married to one of the heirs who was interested in that particular estate, and I say without any hesitancy that this particular man upon this reservation is a man of more ability and more honesty than the superintendent in charge of our reservation. He was seeking to sell that land for less than it was worth on the market, and a less sum than the heirs who owned it could have received for it. I myself recently got into a controversy with the superintendent of my agency over the proposition of his having leased a tract of land belonging to an Indian. He leased it for a period of five years for \$5 an acre.

The boy's brother, a couple of years older, owning land immediately adjoining it, identically the same kind of land, was leasing his for a year at a time at the rate of \$7 an acre. When I wrote a letter to the agent making inquiry upon what authority he had executed that lease and why he had done so, I received a letter from him charging me with fraud and imposition, stating he was not subject to any inquiry from me or anyone else, that he was in charge and that he would do as he pleased.

And that is the disposition of an agent upon an Indian reservation which I think contains the most advanced Indians there are, particularly in the Northwest.

Mr. GREENE. Mr. Sloan, if it does not disturb you, this kind of a narration of facts is entirely new to this committee, because its jurisdiction has never comprehended anything of this kind. It is very interesting and very informing. May I ask you this, whether such instances as you have suggested have been brought to the attention of the proper authorities in Congress who have direct jurisdiction over such a matter?

Mr. SLOAN. I have appeared before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and I am expecting to be called most any day before the House committee.

Mr. GREENE. I understand that matters to which you refer are very important.

Dr. DIXON. They are very important as throwing light on citizenship.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Sloan, what do you think about the question of citizenship for Indians—that is, the United States Congress passing a law declaring all Indians citizens of the United States, with the full enjoyment thereof?

Mr. SLOAN. I think that citizenship ought to be given absolutely and generally to every one of them.

Mr. MILLER. And that would carry with it the duty of each of these Indians taking care of his own property and estate. What percentage, if any, would shrink from the performance of that duty?

Mr. SLOAN. None of the adults would shrink from that at all.

Mr. MILLER. Are you satisfied they are all competent to transact their own business?

Mr. SLOAN. There is this distinction I would make, and I was preparing to reach that point: The Indian, because of his having been segregated upon a reservation and kept within an exclusive environment under the supervision of Government officials, has developed largely, as far as business is concerned, into a dependent person. People outside of a reservation, who are owners of property or laborers who acquired it, are men suspicious of all transactions and are dependent upon themselves to learn and ascertain the things that are brought to them in the way of business or contracts or otherwise, and they figure out what is best to do, while the Indian, having relied upon and being made to rely upon an Indian agent or a superintendent in charge of the reservation, has become dependent upon other people and through that dependence has been filched out of much of his property; and the worst part of it, to my mind, is this—that if the laws of Congress which are provided for the protection of Indian property are continued instead of being removed at the arbitrary exercise of power by an Indian agent or superintendent, sometimes without the knowledge and consent of the Indian, and he made subject of these grafters, much of the graft that is complained about on Indian property would not occur.

There are just two incidents I want to call your attention to. One of the witnesses who knows about them is personally absent on account of illness, although in the city. Mr. Kipp, a Blackfoot Indian present, may know something of the circumstances.

Hugh Jackson is a Blackfoot Indian boy who served overseas. He was the owner and is the owner of an allotment on the Blackfoot Reservation. The allotments made to his family—his mother and brothers and sisters—an aggregate of 1,920 acres. The home was upon the mother's allotment, and consisted of a house, barn shed, outbuildings; and the entire place was fenced. Some of it was irrigated, and there was part of the land that was well seeded to timothy. It was a valuable tract of land, making a complete ranch ready for use.

Through the fraudulent acts of the agency employees at the Blackfoot Reservation a lease was obtained for that whole tract of land at \$130 per annum from one of the sisters who was only the owner of one-sixth part of it, which did not include the improvements. Then when the mother complained about it, she was advised by the supervisor in charge that unless she signed that lease and ratified the act of her daughter that her daughter would be prosecuted; and under that threat, practically under duress, she signed the lease. This boy, Hugh Jackson, came back from the Army expecting to return to his home, but the family had been forced out and he had no place to go. He had been gassed and wounded in the thigh and was in bad condition. There was a hospital at the agency, which was established and provided with funds by a general appropriation from Congress to take care of the Blackfoot Indians, although I understand that by some rule they are expected to take care par-

ticularly of tubercular cases, which they do not and did not do. When this boy came there without a home, he asked, and his friends asked for him, if he could not be taken care of at the hospital, and there were no patients in the hospital and no place for him, although it was provided with a doctor and nurses in attendance. The supervisor in charge, Horce G. Wilson, Blackfoot Agency, Mont., of course, was anxious to get rid of him because of this land transaction, and advised him to go back to the Army.

Mr. GREENE. He had been already discharged?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE. And was discharged while still in a state of invalidism?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir. The citizens took it up. The agency is located at the town of Browning, and the Indians and certain white citizens together made up a fund and furnished him a place at the hotel, and he was there when the delegates from the Blackfoot agency left. Is that correct, Mr. Kipp?

Mr. KIPP. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE. Has that state of facts been outlined to a proper committee?

Mr. SLOAN. No; but I purpose to tell the Committee of Indian Affairs. A number of us had a meeting the other evening, and among the persons who came in were two Apache Indians from San Carlos, Ariz., who said they were starving at their reservation. I accompanied them to Senator Curtis, and he found they had sufficient funds on hand for any need, and I arranged to meet with them at the Indian Office. They failed to be there, but I took the matter up with the assistant commissioner, and he immediately telegraphed to the agent in charge to furnish these people means upon which to live. I hope to keep in touch with that matter and to see that the situation is properly remedied, and if the bureau fails to do its duty, to call it to the attention of Congress.

Mr. GREENE. This is a pretty broad question, but does it appear to you, in the capacity of a lawyer as well as a man of experience in the tribal relations there, that the basic law that Congress has sought honestly to make, if honestly administered, would do reasonably fair justice to the Indians, or is the mistake largely in the law as well as in the administration?

Mr. SLOAN. I am of this belief, that the laws of Congress are intended for the protection of the Indians; that the large failure is in the administration; that the administration is dishonest. But back of that is this other proposition. A protection that comes through an administration of Federal laws must be finally acted upon at Washington, D. C., and the distance is too great for prompt action, and there are too many intervening interests against the Indian that belong to the Indian Bureau system that seeks more to maintain itself and sustain itself than to protect the Indians, and therefore by the time complaints come from the reservation to the office they have lost their potency because of delay, the opposition of Indian Bureau employees, the lack on the part of the Indian to clearly express his complaint and to sustain it with evidence, and generally a lack on the part of the reviewing officers of any knowledge of reservation conditions.

In October I was asked to attend a council of the Sioux Indians to be held on American Island, in the Missouri River in South Dakota, near the town of Chamberlain. The Sioux Indians from the different tribes and bands were meeting there to discuss the proposition of recovering for the sale, or taking away from them, of the Black Hills country, South Dakota. At the Rosebud Agency, S. Dak., where the Indians have the same kind of a provision of law to which I called attention in the Omaha act, that they should be subject to the laws of the State when the lands were patented to them, and these Indians had their allotments patented, which made him a citizen. One of them who wished to attend this council, when he let it be known that he was going, the agent ordered his arrest, and the policeman arrested him and put him in jail. He had violated no law, had committed no criminal act, had violated no right of person or property, yet without complaint or process of any kind he was forcibly placed in jail and held there.

Mr. MILLER. What justification did the agent give?

Mr. SLOAN. I have not heard of the justification.

Mr. MILLER. He did not attempt to give any justification?

Mr. SLOAN. Senator Johnson of South Dakota was notified of the matter, and I have not been in touch with him yet to learn what the agent's report may be.

Upon the Blackfeet Reservation an Indian woman who had some rent due her traveled a distance of 30 miles last October. The country was hot, dry, and rough, and her horses, grass fed, were tired when they had made the trip. They got into Browning, Mont., and the agency about 1 or 1.30 o'clock in the afternoon. The woman went to the office to see about collecting her rent or having it paid to her. While she was standing there the clock showed 2 o'clock. They have a practice at the Blackfeet Agency of closing the office at 2 o'clock and taking joy rides with the Government automobiles about the reservation. So this Indian woman was too late to be waited upon, but there were a number of white men there, and the clerks were waiting upon them. She stood there hoping she might induce them to attend to her matter, because she had a long distance to go and no money to pay expenses to stay over, and she spoke to an interpreter and asked if something could not be done for her, and instead of receiving a reply she was ordered out.

When she hesitated they ordered the policeman to put her out. She said to the policeman, "If they have time to attend to the white men, they ought to attend to me as well, because this is my office. I am supposed to come here." He said, "You have sassed me," and knocked her down and dragged her to the jail and locked her in. About a week before she had given birth to a child that had died, and she was in bad condition, and while confined there she almost bled to death. Robert Hamilton, who is in the city sick, so he can not be here, went to the agency office and remonstrated, and they agreed to turn her out that night, but did not do it until the next morning. Hamilton told the agency officials he would burn up the wires to Washington right away if they did not let her out. The agency officials ordered her to come back on the following Friday and had her tried by a court of Indian offenses for being sassy to the policeman. When there was no evidence against her,



they convicted the husband because she was sassy to the policeman, and ordered him confined 20 days, and they did confine him. Later Mr. Hamilton got him out.

In speaking of that incident the other day, one of the Klamath Indians spole up and said, "That is same supervisor Wilson who was engaged in timber stealing on my reservation;" and then an Indian of the Chippewa Tribe of Indians said, "We had this fellow in a timber stealing deal up on the Red Lake Chippewa Reservation, in northern Minnesota."

These Indian agents in the Indian Service, when complaints are made against them and it is too hot for them to stay any longer in that particular place are by the Indian Bureau transferred somewhere else and they are inflicted upon some other poor Indians. So that this man Horace G. Wilson has gone the rounds.

At the Flathead Reservation they have a similar kind of man who put a lot of Indians in jail, one died in jail with the influenza. Men who have committed no crime are incarcerated in that way; a delegation of Flathead Indians are here who can tell you about it. It happens that I know about this particular agent myself. He was a clerk at the Winnebago Agency, Nebraska—the Omaha and Winnebago Agencies were together at one time, as the reservations are together—and I am familiar with both of them. This particular man, Theodore Sharp, was financial clerk. The agency doctor was transferred from the Winnebago Agency to Santee, and he sold his team, buggy, and harness to Theodore Sharp. The team consisted of a pair of old mares. One of the mares had a broken down ankle, and instead of stepping on the hoof stepped on the joint and the rest of the foot, and the foot from the ankle flapped along as she traveled. That clerk sold that team to a crazy Winnebago Indian woman for more than he paid for the whole outfit. I filed charges against him, and he admitted it, and the inspector who made the report said that the charges were admitted, but that they ought not to punish an efficient and faithful clerk because some Indian, who was a grafter and dishonest, was making complaints against him.

Mr. GREENE. It is evident then that you have complaints of two kinds of deals against the Indian Bureau people: One is dishonesty in relations with the Indians; that is to say, that they by hook and crook graft on the Indian and at the Indian's expense; and then the next is they are personally and illegally brutal?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir; all of your indictments are true.

Mr. GREENE. Does that seem to run current, or is this brutality only evidenced now and then in individual cases or does it seem to be more or less common?

Mr. SLOAN. It has been very common and continuous.

Mr. GREENE. I think the grafter of all fellows would like to have a smooth exterior so as to have the good will of them and beat them some more.

Mr. SLOAN. This is true on reservations like the Blackfoot and the Flathead and the Sioux that are removed from immediate contact with civilization. Where the Indians can not obtain counsel the agency officials are worse in that respect than where they are directly in contact with civilization. I had this experience on my own reservation: After we had been voting 22 years, the worst Indian agent we

had, a man indicted and dismissed from the Indian Service for fraud and conspiracy, had established by authority of the commissioner's office here in Washington a court of Indian offenses. I was away at the time that it was established, and when I came back there were a lot of fellows doing police duty around the agency office. They told me they were serving out sentences. I was busy and hurried home and came back a week later, and they had built a jail in the meantime and had an Indian in it. He called to me and wanted to get out.

I went to the United States circuit court, then sitting in Omaha, Nebr., and made application for temporary writ of habeas corpus, and the writ was granted. It came up on final hearing before Judge Treaber, who is United States judge for the eastern district of Arkansas, was the court, and he said this: The utmost diligence on the part of the United States attorney, supplemented by an effort on the part of the court, has failed to find any law which authorized the existence of such a court or any law for the infliction of such punishment. The writ was granted.

We have not had a repetition of that kind since, but immediately adjoining my reservation on the Winnebago Reservation, they have the police, and they frequently act in a brutal manner, under direction of the agent, in making arrests.

Mr. MILLER. What are these police, white men or Indians?

Mr. SLOAN. They are Indians; and upon all the Sioux Reservations that is true. This dependency I speak of, because out of this kind of supervision and the fact that Indians are on a reservation where their agents are not made responsible to some proper legal authorities this supervision is exercised in a manner that it has made the Indian at least a very backward person. I feel it is the duty of the Government to make him as nearly as possible what he was before he was placed in this environment, where he has deteriorated into what he is to-day.

There is no question but what his ability in the past was wonderfully great as a fighter. He had a patriotism all his own for his country and the graves of his forefathers. He was ready to stand and fight for them to the extreme end, and he has been and is just as ready to-day to fight at the call of this Government. On the two Indian reservations in my county, the Omaha and the Winnebago, out of some 2,400 people, more than 127 enlisted. I just to-day received the cut from which to print a picture of an Omaha Indian boy who volunteered in the Marines. He was an excellent marksman, went over, and while rescuing his captain in no man's land was shot three times, from which he died; and that boy's property was at the time under the supervision of the kind of a man that I told you about.

It seems to me that if we could have the Indian enter into an educational system of the kind that Dr. Dixon seeks to establish, and have the opportunity to enter into the Army by regular enlistment, it would help develop the old spirit of the Indian whereby he used to assert himself, his manliness and his courage, independence, and initiative as an American citizen; and that, I feel, is necessary and essential for his proper development back into manhood; and I think it would likewise be a good thing for him and the country.

This committee has the opportunity of doing a great thing here for this race, if it is at all possible; and I think that if the opportunity

is given in an educational way, as is suggested, and they can be taken into the Army, I am satisfied that they will be of great benefit; and that they will give a good account of themselves in every way.

Another thing occurs to me: A short time ago there was a band of Apaches who were here before one of the investigating committees of the House, Indians who came right out of the desert of Arizona, and they were asked, "What do you do when you run short of food and have nothing to live upon, when you are burned out by drouth, or your dams washed out and you do not have water with which to irrigate?" The fellow said, "We go to the mines and work in the mines." "What do you get when you work in the mines?" "Oh, I get \$10 to \$12 a day." "What do you do in the mines by which you get \$10 or \$12 a day?" "Oh, I am an engineer, and I run the electric engine. I have that to do, and then I boss some Mexicans who are brought in there to work."

All of which shows those Indian men from the reservation have in them the inherent ability to pick up all the opportunities that are offered to them, though situated as they are they do not come in contact with the diversified opportunities that we have in the East, and if they could be brought into the Navy or other mechanical institutions where they could exercise those natural inherent qualities of which they are possessed it would give them an opportunity for great development and advancement, to their own benefit and I believe to the welfare of the country.

In an Indian meeting we had the other day, members of the Osage Council of Oklahoma were up here looking for an extension of their mineral and oil trust period, during which time all the oil and mineral was to be taken from the reservation for the tribe. The president of their council was here, the man who signed the contracts of lease for gas and oil development that involves property worth many millions of dollars. I think the commissioner said the income for the fiscal year will be something like \$50,000,000.

John Morrison, president of the General Council of the Chippewa Indian Tribe of Minnesota was present, and in them we have a showing of what can be successfully done by Indian organization within itself. The Chippewa General Council have an appropriation of \$10,000 out of their funds given to the council, which they may use and expend absolutely independent of the Indian Bureau. With that they have made investigations and have employed counsel, and thereby they have succeeded in reducing the bureau expenses something like \$80,000 or \$100,000. They have stopped the issuance of patents by the Interior Department to the State of Minnesota for lands that were termed swamp lands but which were really lands belonging to the Chippewa Tribe of Indians, and in that alone they have probably saved several million dollars.

They have also asked the Department of Justice to demand repayment by the State of Minnesota for lands that they have received as swamp lands which were actually Chippewa Indian lands and not swamp lands at all, and in that matter there is in progress a compromise which may bring them many millions more.

These things show that the Indians have within themselves the ability if they have the opportunity to carry on their own business. I wish to illustrate particularly by the Omaha Tribe of Indians that although their allotments are held in trust by the United States Gov-

ernment and they are denied the right to exercise their independent acts in reference to them, the said trust lands are subject to taxation and are being listed, assessed, and taxes collected for them. So that they are meeting all the requirements of general citizenship. The supervision they are getting is so poor that I believe the poorest Indian to-day is much better off released of supervision than what is being done for those Indians who are supervised under the kind of supervision they are receiving.

Mr. GREENE. I think we can all see the natural result of herding them together on the reservation all this period that you indicate. It does breed dependency among other people similarly. Do you think it would be wise, by a blanket act, to make all of these people citizens and then separate their property and give them the individual jurisdiction over it, or would it be better to have some method by which they could come to it gradually one by one, by groups, or whatever manner it may be, when they were in that degree of competency that enabled them both to become citizens and to vote and administer their own affairs? Or, perhaps, put it another way, do you think that lifting them out from under this supervision all at once and putting them out into the world with the custody of their own property, that while the strong among them would prevail in their own estates, just as strong men do everywhere, that there might be grievous loss to a great many more, irrecoverable, of course.

Mr. SLOAN. I would say I do not think there would be any greater loss among the Indians, taking them generally, than there is among young men who arrive at their majority and who receive large quantities of property over which they exercise unlimited control.

Mr. GREENE. You would favor making a sort of a blanket franchise?

Mr. SLOAN. I make this distinction: I think that all Indians who are native born are of that right entitled to citizenship, and that the citizenship granted to them ought to be general. There ought not to be any exception. And in respect to that particular part of it, one of the reasons why I say that is because the Indian now needs protection against the officials of the Indian Bureau as much as he does against the grafter, because the grafter could not succeed with his graft if the Indian Bureau did not make it possible. Further than that, those Indians who have property that is under restriction ought to be continued in that condition if they wish that restriction, as long as it was legally granted to them. But that should not interfere with their citizenship. The trusts and restrictions covering property belonging to minors and old and decrepit Indians should continue until the children arrive at the age of majority and the old folks have had the use and benefits as far as the needs of old age would require. I think those things ought to be taken care of absolutely.

Mr. GREENE. So that it would be in a sense an establishment such as would permit those who come now into full estate, citizenship, and competency, to go right along as other citizens, retain property in trust for the protection of old age until they had passed out either by that disability or of life, so that eventually all trusts and wardships would be abandoned?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE. And the succeeding generations to come along with full citizenship without any intervening?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE. Any people anywhere until they have exercised the responsibility of citizenship imposed in them never do acquire full stature.

Mr. MILLER. On these reservations are many who can not talk the English language?

Mr. SLOAN. There are on a great many reservations.

Mr. MILLER. And they get allotments just the same as other men?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLER. Those men have the right of citizenship just the same as other men?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir; except as the Indian Bureau prevents.

Mr. MILLER. He does not speak English and probably can not write it, yet he goes to his tribesmen for advice?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLER. He takes reliable advice, does he?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLER. These tribal organizations then need not necessarily be broken up; the Indians might, of voluntary association, maintain them for protection under your idea?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes; I think they are doing that successfully among the Chippewas. They seem to be a leading tribe in taking care of their individual and tribal assets.

Mr. MILLER. So that men might be citizens and legally have the individual management of their finances and yet by their own voluntary association form part of a tribal organization to administer their affairs or for counsel. I suppose there would be once in awhile a profligate one?

Mr. SLOAN. Oh, you would find the same weaknesses among Indians as among white people. But the striking thing is this, that the old Indian men, those whom we generally seek to protect and are so strenuous about, are the ones who take the best care of their property. They are the least likely to dispose of it. As a matter of fact, they do not have the ambition the young one does, who wants to drive an automobile and take the girls around, which is an inducement to dispose of his land, and in my experience, even as much as 30 years ago, I was surprised to find that when everybody else was hard up on the reservation in the season which was the most difficult, at harvest and threshing time, that the old Indian man had kept in his little buckskin sack a great many \$20 gold pieces, and he was able to give a feast and invite the young men to feast and to do all the work necessary to be done just at the cost of a good feast, and it was because the old man knew how to conserve and take care of his funds.

Mr. GREENE. While talking about the wardship of the Indian, I would be very glad if we were advised out of collective national wisdom some way of making the young white men conserve his substance, too. I do not think the problem is confined to the Indian by any manner of means.

Mr. MILLER. I saw an Indian on the Klamath Reservation buy an automobile. He had got tired of riding his pony and he wanted to buy an automobile and he bought it and paid \$2,000 for it. He got into it and had trouble in getting it started for some reason or other, and he finally said, "Some of you fellows start the damn

thing for me," and he started out and pretty soon he had all the men on the reservation out trying to help him stop it. But it was his automobile and he had paid for it.

Mr. SLOAN. The city of Tacoma is practically built on Indian lands, and their trust period expired in 1894. Mr. Bishop, who is an Indian, was in business in the city of Tacoma, had a list of a large number of Indians who were still the owners of the land allotted to them on which the trust protective period expired in 1894. The lands have increased in value and had been improved, and some had traded that land for other land, but a large number of them, right in the immediate vicinity of the city of Tacoma are still the owners of the land unrestricted for that period of time.

I spent considerable time with Dr. Dixon going over his suggestions here, and it seems to me that they are fundamentally sound, and that they offer the Indian an opportunity to advance and improve; and I am sure that it will be a good thing for them, because of their peculiar situation. As the Supreme Court has time and again said that they are under the special protection of Congress, and that whatever Congress may do in reference to them is right and proper, and because of the way they have responded as volunteers largely in the service of the late war, I feel that they are entitled to some special consideration from this committee.

It happens that I know of places in different counties in the Sioux Reservation where the first man to volunteer was an Indian, Jack Provost by name, on the Ogallah Reservation, which is known as the Red Cloud Reservation. He went into the Navy; and this boy I spoke about, Fletcher Farley, went from the Omaha Reservation, having graduated at the University of Nebraska and passed his examinations in law and been admitted to practice; he went across, was shot, and died while there from the effects of it. You will remember he was shot while he was taking his officer out of no man's land, saving his life.

These things seem to me so especially within the consideration of Congress that you have the opportunity to take and consider them, and if they are of sufficient importance to you, to extend to the Indian that opportunity, right, and benefit.

Dr. Dixon. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Sloan closes his testimony, I would like to have him state to the committee his own experiences in reference to his exercise of citizenship. Mr. Sloan is a citizen of the United States, he is an attorney at law of the very highest standing. He has been admitted to the bar and has practiced in the courts of Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, Missouri, Kansas, District of Columbia, and also admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. His experiences will verify to you my oft repeated statement in this argument that citizenship for the Indian as construed by the practice of the laws of the land is a fiction, a delusion, and a dream.

Mr. SLOAN. I was allotted land the same as other members of the Omaha Tribe of Indians. While living upon the lands of the reservation I was under the supervision of the Indian agent in charge. My allotment was held in trust and I was required to conform to the regulations of the Indian agent. I lived in the county seat town of Pender, Nebr. My allotment of land was immediately east of the railroad right of way and the town of Pender immediately west

of said right of way. In Pender I was the mayor, exercising the control of the city administration. Over the railway right of way on my allotment I was a ward of the Government, and an incompetent person. While in the city of Washington, D. C., attending a session of the Supreme Court of the United States, as a member of the bar of that court, and presenting to it a case under consideration by the court, I asked for a patent in fee for a part of my allotment. The officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs refused to give it to me and required that I must appear before a so-called competency commission. I did so and was reported competent by said commission, and later that report was approved by the Secretary of the Interior. I had made the application for a fee patent in order to establish a credit by which I could purchase some Indian land that was being sold. The refusal and delay of the Indian Bureau lost me the opportunity to buy the land. Later I bought it at an advance of several thousand dollars, and I was called a citizen of the United States. In addition to my own experience there presses upon me the striking case of the Cowlitz Indian of the State of Washington. The tribal delegate, Frank A. Iyall, is in the city. He has been here attending sessions of Congress for the past five years seeking authority to bring suit in the Court of Claims for the lands taken from his tribe without any compensation. Everything they had was taken from them and they have never received anything from the Government. You gentlemen know that no Indian has the right to put his cause before the Court of Claims without a special act of Congress in each individual case. So far this tribe of 600 persons have been denied the right, even, to go before the Court of Claims to simply determine the rightfulness of their cause. And there are many more just such cases.

Dr. DIXON. May I impose upon your patience? I would like to have you hear from Mr. Bishop.

**STATEMENT OF MR. THOMAS G. BISHOP, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS, TACOMA, WASH.**

Mr. BISHOP. I am a Snohomish Indian of Tacoma, Wash. I want to say first that I have taken a great interest in this bill. It seems to offer to our people something which will be of use and benefit to them, something that we can not get under the present administration of the Indian Bureau.

While, of course, many of you dwell upon the idea that to give the Indian citizenship would be to have him robbed. But his greatest fight now is protecting himself from those who are attempting to guard him. There was a great deal of stress, especially from the gentleman occupying the chair (Mr. Greene, temporarily) laid upon the suggestion that the Indian would lose his property if it was turned over to him. Mr. Miller knows the Puyallup Reservation and knows the value of the property about this reservation, which is right now in the city of Tacoma, where my home has been for 24 years. That reservation was turned over to the Indians and they were given full title in 1894, whether they wanted it or not. There are 20 of these allotments to-day held intact by the Indians themselves.

There are eight other Indians who own the allotments through purchase from their relatives of allotments that were theirs that

were held intact and free from debt, when it is a known fact that no more than 4 per cent of the homesteads of white citizens in the western district of the State of Washington are held free from debt, or held by the original owners or their descendants to-day. This shows you that the Indians are just as competent as the whites, although in 1894 there were more illiterates among the Indians than there are to-day. So, if you want to turn the Indian loose, do not fear to give him his property; he will take care of it better, I think, than the average white man.

There are a few who should have protection. I do not believe in turning everything over to them now but the full rights of citizenship they should have. I believe that the Indians should be given self-determination on their reservations. There are many of them on the reservation to-day more able to handle their own property, determine the rights of their property, and guard their people than, the agents the Indian Bureau places over them, or any of those who are their superiors in the Department of Indian Affairs. I say that without fear of contradiction.

Mr. MILLER. There is no question about it.

Mr. BISHOP. I want you to understand this, that while we have taken no official action on this bill, so far as the Society of American Indians is concerned, I know from interest I have observed in several different districts and from my communications from the Indians, that they will support it, you might say, to a man, although, of course, there will be a few objections; and I will not hesitate to say that there will be quite a remonstrance against it. But when you get to the bottom of it, it will be found to come from the Indian Bureau, because those men in the Indian Bureau will lose their official positions, and that is the whole amount of it. They can get some Indians who are serving under them to do their dirty work just the same as you can get them amongst your own people.

I have had the honor and pleasure of handling workmen, and when I wanted any dirty work done I would get a union labor man to drive his own men. Of course, it is easy enough to get an Indian to do dirty work among the Indians, but, generally speaking, if you will put the responsibility upon them on the reservations they will take care of their people where the white man will not, because they are his own people.

Mr. GREENE. What would you say to this, Mr. Bishop, to giving the Indian citizenship and the individual custody of his property along the line Mr. Sloan spoke of, reserving, perhaps, for a very few—the very old and others who might be disabled in some way—a wardship for their property until it passed by the natural law into the hands of those who could take care of it, and then also permitting individual Indians to enlist in the Army. Would that by itself offer an incentive to the enterprising and ambitious Indian, now recognized in his full political estate, to work out his own salvation just as other people do?

Mr. BISHOP. Yes, sir; as to giving the Indian his property. But as to enlistment of the Indian, I believe he will do best in an Indian unit.

Mr. GREENE. So that, perhaps, it will not be necessary to organize, for instance, two divisions of the Army exclusively of Indians. Would not the Indian do quite as well for himself if, being recognized as an individual in his full political estate of citizenship, he was permitted to go into other units



where other citizens were, share and share alike with them, but recognized as one of their own kind?

Mr. BISHOP. Yes, sir; in citizenship he needs to share alike with the white man. In the Army he should be in Indian companies to bring out his best efforts.

Mr. GREENE. Would not that be better for him than to be herded all together as the red men are in distinctive units?

Mr. BISHOP. He will work better by having a regiment of his own; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. GREENE. They will work better immediately; but, of course, you and I are interested in what will be in the future—in other words, in our children and children's children. Presently, of course, they could get along better for obvious reasons, but in the long run would it not make for the better development of their children and their children's children if they began quickly as possible side by side with the rest of our citizens and not marked off by a race line?

Mr. BISHOP. Yes; but we have to prepare for their protection and give them a chance to get into the Army, and this is a good chance to do it. It would have been good if your suggestion had come with the settlement of the country but not now. It is our duty to take care of the Indian children now, and they will take care of those who are to come.

Mr. GREENE. If you will remember, I said, "Open up the Army door to them so they can go in."

Mr. BISHOP. That is easily said, but they can not get into the Army in the way you would think.

Mr. GREENE. I said, "Make the law so they could."

Mr. BISHOP. Oh, yes; that would be all right.

Mr. GREENE. I think it is a mistake to deal with the Indians as in the case of aliens. You and I are born in this country and we know it. Your fathers were born here before mine were. We do not have any sort of initiative to go through with to understand America. We take people in at the port of New York, and they have not been there but a little while until certain races all tend to get together in clumps in the big cities and live in colonies, and that is where our hardest problem in Americanization comes, because they isolate themselves and do not mix up with the rest of the citizenship of the country.

Having that in mind, would it not be wiser to have the Indians sprinkled through the Army in twos and threes so as to give them comradeship with other citizens that they are going to stand on a level with rather than to have the Indians always herded in two divisions composed only of their own kinsmen, and never again having that isolation which they have had out on the reservation?

Mr. BISHOP. That will probably be better. But the foundation of this is the schooling that our people will have. There should be a compulsory law even for the immigrant for the purpose of educating him.

The Indian has not segregated himself, particularly not in criminal groups, nor has he resisted legal authority. On the contrary he has been a true American as well as the first American, and now as well as always among the most patriotic. It is not herding Indians to enlist them in regiments and divisions but an assembly in which there is mutual respect, race confidence, and development that tend

to encourage him to do his best work and bring his best traits of character to use and development.

Mr. GREENE. I think so, too.

Mr. BISHOP. We should give the Indian the privilege of schooling that he has not got to-day.

Mr. GREENE. I think that schooling part, as has been suggested here, is not within our jurisdiction, but I can see how we might open the Army up in some way. But I am fearful of this one thing, that if you create two divisions of Indians, that they would be like an agency Indian, and the impression grows up in the minds of their superiors that they are not like other divisions, that they are divisions set off by themselves exclusively as Indians, and the old-time notion that they are an Indian Reservation ward and dependent, will maintain there. But if you take those men in twos and threes, as individuals, and sprinkle them out through the Army where they are side by side with other men, and have exactly the same consideration as other men have, they learn how to get step with the ordinary citizenship of our country and go on with it.

Mr. BISHOP. There is not as much trouble to make a soldier out of an Indian as out of a white man.

Mr. GREENE. I presume that is so. But you understand the purpose of making a soldier out of an Indian is to give him a bigger opportunity to learn more citizenship. Not only to have a bigger opportunity for citizenship, but to prepare the rising generation for a greater and better citizenship.

Mr. BISHOP. We do not expect to get two divisions, but we would like to have at least one for the reasons given. We would like our boys to have the opportunity of getting in the Army.

Mr. MILLER. Suppose a law was passed, to be included in this bill, organizing, say, two or three regiments, providing that every Indian when he has served one year or two years, or whatever we may say, and has an honorable discharge from the United States Army, shall automatically place him as a citizen of the United States in the full enjoyment of every right exercised by a citizen generally. Do you think that would promote enlistments among the Indians?

Mr. BISHOP. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. It undoubtedly would; would it not?

Mr. BISHOP. We have an Indian soldier bill which has just now passed. The intent of it was all right, but it is not working out. The department has notified the agents to help those Indians attain citizenship. They do not give them citizenship, but they help them, which holds the Indian yet under the bureau. If they ask for and demand citizenship, the bureau will say, "We are going to take our time; you have got to do so and so, even after the United States Congress has said they shall have citizenship because they served in the war."

Mr. GREENE. Was any difficulty found during the war by reason of any unfair treatment of the Indians when they were in with the white units?

Mr. BISHOP. No, sir.

Mr. GREENE. They were all treated as comrades and treated well? I am basing it perhaps on our experience with the colored troops.

Mr. BISHOP. You might say this war was a great lesson to us. While it cost greatly in lives, many of our people were tremendously

advanced and they learned a great deal, and now they are seeking for more privileges and chances in the same channel.

MR. GREENE. I have in mind this: We have several distinctive organizations of Negroes. You and I can understand that the white man does not go in there with those organizations of Negroes; he does not want to serve there, and he is not put in, but is deliberately kept out. The white man has his own notion about that and you can not argue with him about it and it is not necessary to argue with him about it. On the other hand, the white man is glad to have his Indian neighbor right in the ranks with him?

MR. BISHOP. Yes, sir.

MR. GREENE. And whether it would not be better for the Indian to go in the ranks with the white man and take part right along, rank and rank, than to be set off to one side as the Negroes are, is the question.

MR. BISHOP. Yes; but there is a feeling among the Indians that they would be treated better in regiments or divisions by themselves than they would be in the general Army. If the call should be given, they will answer, but they do not go and volunteer for the regular standing Army. The fact is they did volunteer and seek enlistment in Indian units.

MR. GREENE. I should think the white man himself would do that, because he has his lesson in the Negro organization, whereas if the red man, against whom he has none of that race feeling, sought to come into his command, man by man and two by twos, that he would welcome him in, and he would not look upon him like he does on the Negro.

MR. BISHOP. I will say this for the general soldier that they like to have the Indian boy join them.

MR. GREENE. Yes; and it seems to me that the Indian would make greater progress in going in with the white men, so that he can say, "This is my Army, and I am in with all the rest."

MR. BISHOP. But this schooling that we propose here would give them something that they can not get anywhere else, in any other form.

MR. GREENE. I doubt if we have any jurisdiction over the matter of schooling.

MR. BISHOP. Mr. Greene, I do not mean for you to take any jurisdiction in the local schools, but I mean after they have attained the years of 16 or 18, then to give them military training or a chance for military training.

MR. GREENE. I would be perfectly willing and glad enough to see every opportunity given the individual Indian to achieve his full citizenship and exercise it; I do not see any reason why he should not have that privilege.

MR. BISHOP. This would be a great step toward it and we would certainly appreciate it.

MR. MILLER. There is a little paragraph I would like to have the doctor read to you. It is in reference to the segregation of the troops in other countries.

DR. DIXON. This paragraph which Mr. Miller has asked me to read, is from my argument delivered to this committee in 1917, on the segregation of troops according to race [reading]:

Again, it is a fact that the segregation of troops according to race is an idea adopted by all nations. Fighting on the western front to-day there is a medley of races—battalions that include the picturesque tribes from the four corners of the earth:

The Turcos, the Senegalese, Gurkhas, Arabs, Maoris, Cossacks, the Nigerians, and the strange little brown Papuans from the Fiji Islands. Let the Indian troops be distinctive. The Greeks had their Thessalonian cavalry, the Turks their Mamelukes, the Russians their Cossacks, and the Germans their Uhlans, all of them distinctive, all of them effective.

Dr. DIXON. I would now like to call upon Mr. Kirk for a few words.

**STATEMENT OF MR. C. KIRK, SECRETARY OF THE KLAMATH INDIAN TRIBAL COUNCIL, KLAMATH, OREG.**

Mr. KIRK. I am secretary of the Klamath Indian Tribal Council, Klamath, Oreg. My occupation is not in any one line, but I am a musician, a lumber grader, and a farmer sometimes, and engaged in various other pursuits, whatever I have been able to find to do.

I have been very much interested in the offering of this piece of legislation to segregate the Indian as a unit in the Army, and I think I can see one great advantage that would be probably quite an asset to the Army, and I asked Dr. Dixon to tell this committee about it, but I did not think I would be called upon to bring that point out.

The fact is this, in the World War the Indian language and their tactics in warfare has been very essential, and the fact that every Indian tribe all over the United States has a different language from the other tribes—on our reservation we have three tribes, and we speak three different, distinct languages, and if there should be a school created for the benefit of the Indian, principally, I should judge that the various different languages would be a valuable asset to the War Department in the transmitting of orders and codes.

We have wireless systems now probably all over the world, and messages transmitted in the Indian languages would not be taken up or picked up by other countries, and for instance, if the War Department wanted to send a message to the Pacific coast for a certain purpose, somebody else probably would be on the line, and the consequences are that the message would be known all over the world, because of being picked up some place else. Whereas if the message was sent in Indian, for instance in the language of the Klamath of the Pacific coast, nobody would understand that except a man on the other end of the line in Klamath; and I believe that it would be one of the greatest things for the Indian race to develop the language of all the tribes, practically, in the United States, so that we would have some record of it in history, and it would be an incentive to every Indian to learn the languages of the different tribes and make it an asset that would probably be of great value to the War Department.

Mr. GREENE. We are very much obliged to you gentlemen for coming here and speaking to us to-day.

Dr. DIXON. I want to thank you most sincerely, but I would like to get out of the range of your thought the fact that you have no jurisdiction over the school question of the Indian, and the education of the Indian, because education is to-day directly connected with military training, and it is the foundation of citizenship, and if you do not attend to it it will go undone.

(Thereupon, at 6.30 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned.)

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